



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
(SNCC)**

**PART 10 OF 14**

**BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 13 (CONTINUED)**

APPENDIX  
PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

The "People's World", a weekly west coast communist newspaper, in its issue of November 5, 1966, in an article by James, describes the Peace Action Council (PAC) as, "a coordinating agency for peace activists" which conducts "massive mobilizations and demonstrative actions against the war in Vietnam."

On July 22, 1966, a source reported that the PAC, which he called soon known as the Greater Los Angeles Peace Action Council (GLAPAC), was formed during the early summer of 1966 for the express purpose of protesting the war in Vietnam during the National Governors' Conference held in Sacramento, California, from July 4, to July 8, 1966. Following the conclusion of that conference, the PAC members decided to continue as a coordinating group to sponsor similar protest meetings during later dates.

This source was recontacted on May 10, 1967, and advised that the PAC continues to operate under the same name.

APPENDIX

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## APPENDIX

### PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1966, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 16-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 19, 1965, page 20, reported that a new party of "revolutionary Socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "the Progressive Labor Party was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for assertedly failing to support the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Leader," a bimonthly newspaper; "Challenge," a monthly New York City newspaper; and "PLP," a west coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that "our paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working man and woman own and control their homes, their jobs, the police, courts, and the entire government of every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP maintains the address of General Post Office Box 608, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 100 Hudson Square Dept. New York City, where PLP publications are distributed.

## APPENDIX

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## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-03820

OCT 6 1967

## Title

COMMUNICIFICATION OF THE  
BLACK CONVENTION COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE (BCCC)

## Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

## Reference

Report of [REDACTED]  
Special Agent in Charge,  
Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <u>LOS ANGELES</u>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <u>ATLANTA</u>	DATE <u>5/29/68</u>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <u>3/9/68 - 5/17/68</u>
TITLE OF CASE <u>STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE</u>		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY <u>rah</u>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <u>RACIAL MATTER</u>	

REFERENCES: Los Angeles airtel to Bureau dated 3/13/68.  
 Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 4/15/68.  
 Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 5/1/68.  
 Atlanta report of SA [REDACTED] dated  
 5/14/68.

- P. -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is being classified confidential because information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED	<i>WJS</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
COPIES MADE:	(10)	Bureau (100-439190) (RM)	<i>26-26 EC 6</i>		
	1	Region II, Pasadena (RM)	<i>8 JUN 4 1968</i>		
	1	OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)	<i>X-110</i>		
	1	INS, San Diego (RM)			
	3	Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)			
	2	Los Angeles (100-63822)			

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	ACSI	NSI	NIC	SS
Request Recd.	RAO: ISD, SCA, CRI	11	IDECU	
Date Fwd.	<i>1/15</i>			
How Fwd.	<i>1/17/68</i>			
By	<i>70 JUN 4 1968</i>			
	<i>56</i>			

Notations

*100-26488-866981*

LA 100-63822

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will, in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/68, submit a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from the date of this report.

- C -  
COVER PAGE

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INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

[REDACTED]  
100-63822-1153 through  
-1188

[REDACTED]  
Orally to SA [REDACTED]  
5/16/68

[REDACTED]  
157-1312-31

[REDACTED]  
100-63822-139 through  
-1189

[REDACTED]  
100-68783-68

[REDACTED]  
100-63822-1588

LA 100-63822

[REDACTED] 100-63822-1558

[REDACTED] 100-63822-1562

[REDACTED] 100-63822-1168

[REDACTED] 100-63822-1168

[REDACTED] 100-63822-1168

[REDACTED] 100-63822-1180 through  
-1181

[REDACTED] 100-63822-1185

[REDACTED] 100-63822-1189

[REDACTED] 100-63822-(not serialized)

LA 100-63822

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1197

[REDACTED]

157-1507-125

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1151

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1151

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1151

[REDACTED]

Characterization of  
WILLIAM and ELIZABETH ROTTGER

[REDACTED]

157-1426-41

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**Copy to:**  
 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)  
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**Report of:** [REDACTED] **Office:** Los Angeles, California  
**Date:** 5/29/68

**Field Office File #:** 100-63822

**Bureau File #:** 100-439190

**Title:** STUDENT NONVIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

**Character:** RACIAL MATTER

**Synopsis:** Los Angeles Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) reorganized 2/27/68, Los Angeles, California. LA-SNCC headquarters at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, telephone 731-7378. Officers and identified members set forth. [REDACTED] and activities of LA-SNCC set forth. National SNCC officers activity and travel to Los Angeles set forth. Travel of LA-SNCC members set forth. Individuals with Communist Party affiliations furnished. LA-SNCC MEMBERS HAVE BEEN URGED TO BE ARMED AT ALL TIMES AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I
Inclusive of automatic
or rapid automatic
firearm

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DETAILS:

All individuals mentioned in the details are characterized in the glossary of this report.

I. REORGANIZATION OF LOS ANGELES STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC)

[REDACTED] (3/11/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Records [REDACTED]  
Los Angeles, California  
(3/11/68)

On March 11, 1968, the records of the above agency indicated that LA-SNCC is a tenant at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, as of February 26, 1968. Their account indicates that TOMMY JACQUETTE is president, FRANKLIN ALEXANDER is vice-president, and JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD is secretary of this political organization which has not been incorporated.

[REDACTED] The office is open from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. and employs ten office workers. The owner of this property is ALBERT COYCAUL, 417 East 52nd Street, Los Angeles.

[REDACTED] (5/6/68)

Source indicated that LA-SNCC was reorganized by TOMMY JACQUETTE, who appointed himself director of LA-SNCC in February 1968. This office was supposedly opened at the request of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN when they were in Los Angeles, California, on February 18, 1968.

II. LA-SNCC HEADQUARTERS

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Records [REDACTED]  
Los Angeles, California  
(3/11/68)

On March 11, 1968, the records of the above agency indicated that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, California.

Records [REDACTED]  
Los Angeles, California  
(3/11/68)

Records of the above company indicated that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, and have telephone number 731-7378.

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)  
[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

On May 16, 1968, the above sources advised that LA-SNCC headquarters are located at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

III. OFFICERS

[REDACTED] (3/11/68)

[REDACTED] (4/18/68)

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[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

RONALD LEROY WILKINS is president, Mrs. BARBARA RENE HARDING is secretary, and JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD is treasurer of LA-SNCC.

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)  
[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

IV. MEMBERSHIP

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (4/07/68)

On April 6, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that four Negro males were arrested at SNCC headquarters, 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard on April 5, 1968, when they were observed standing in front of LA-SNCC headquarters carrying shotguns and side arms.

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On attempting to arrest these individuals, they barricaded themselves in SNCC headquarters and it was necessary for LAPD officers to force their way into the office and arrest CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN; GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS; MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS; and MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, who all claimed to be members of SNCC. The four persons arrested had two Reising .45 caliber automatic rifles; one 30 caliber carbine, and one shotgun. While at the office, [REDACTED] observed a membership list which contained the following names:

TOMMY JACQUETTE	MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
FRANKLIN ALEXANDER	
JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD	
RONALD LEROY WILKINS	
ANGILA Y. DAVIS	
STANLEY ALEXANDER	
BARBARA RENE HARDING	
CLARICE ALLEN	
SHIRLEY GRANT	
WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR.	
CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN	
GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS	
MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS	
MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN	
HIRAM CHANNEL	
ELIZABETH ALLEN	
DANNY J. BAKERWELL, SR.	
THOMAS LOUIE VALENTINE	
THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT	
JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES	
CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR.	
FRANK C. HARDING	
BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES	
ANTHONY CHARLES ASHLEY	

[REDACTED]  
5/16/68  
[REDACTED]  
5/16/68}

The above sources indicated on May 16, 1968, that SNCC is not a membership organization per se but any Negro person who believes and follows National SNCC policy is considered to be a SNCC member, and there are no dues, initiations, or lists to sign or any type of formal membership to join LA-SNCC.

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V. FINANCIAL

[REDACTED] advised that CAROL RUTH SILVER, KENNETH WILLIAM ROTTGER, and ELIZABETH ROTTGER were contributors and/or subscribers to SNCC.

[REDACTED] (2/19/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (4/30/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (4/30/68)

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] {5/3/68}  
{5/3/68}

On May 8, 1968, sources furnished a brochure published by LA-SNCC which called for a protest against the LAPD for the arrest of FRANKLIN and STANLEY ALEXANDER, STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT, THOMAS VALENTINE, BETTY ALLEN, and MARK SIMIEN, who are involved with SNCC on charges of armed robbery. They were released on a Writ of Habeas Corpus, bail fixed at \$6,200 each. The literature indicated that the arrests followed a series of acts of racist terror by police and were calculated to incite a white backlash and halt the developing black protests.

[REDACTED] (2/26/68)

On February 21, 1968, a meeting was held at the South Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California, which brought together RON KARENKA of US (see appendix) and representatives of SNCC, which included STOKELY CARMICHAEL and JAMES FORMAN. The purpose of the meeting was to divide funds from a rally which was held at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on February 18, 1968. This meeting showed a definite split between US and LA-SNCC because of disputes over the distribution of funds.

[REDACTED] (3/20/68)

On March 2, 1968, a reception was held for the Defense of H. Rap Brown at 1830 Hi Point Street, Los Angeles, California. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, officer of LA-SNCC, was the featured speaker and indicated that \$100,000 was necessary to meet the bond set for BROWN. He indicated at this meeting that LA-SNCC had just reorganized and would attempt to raise a good portion of this money.

[REDACTED] (3/12/68)

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] (3/12/68)

On March 12, 1968, source received a pamphlet advising "A People's Tribunal" to be convened at 3:00 p.m. March 17, 1968, in South Park, 51st and Avalon Boulevard, Los Angeles. The purpose of this tribunal is "to try" a LAPD officer who killed GREGORY CLARKE, a male Negro, during an arrest in South Los Angeles on February 18, 1968. Individuals were requested to contact LA-SNCC office for further details.

[REDACTED] (4/9/68)

On March 20, 1968, a demonstration was held at the New Federal Building, 300 North Los Angeles Street, sponsored by LA-SNCC in protest of the arrest of H. RAP BROWN.

[REDACTED] (4/2/68)

On March 22, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC was holding weekly meetings in their headquarters at 199½ West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles.

[REDACTED] (3/22/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (3/29/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (4/18/68)

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] (4/5/68)

On April 5, 1968, LA-SNCC called for a general strike on this day to commemorate the assassination of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. A tribute to MARTIN LUTHER KING was held at the South Baptist Church, Los Angeles, California, which was sponsored by LA-SNCC.

[REDACTED] (4/9/68)

LA-SNCC sponsored a protest at the Broadway Department Store, 4101 South Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, due to the failure of the store to close during MARTIN LUTHER KING's funeral.

[REDACTED] (4/13/68)

On April 11, 1968, LA-SNCC sponsored a fund raising affair at 1800 North Vermont, Los Angeles. FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, officer of LA-SNCC, was one of the featured speakers.

[REDACTED] (4/18/68)

On April 5, 1968, the LAPD arrested three LA-SNCC members, GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS, MICHAEL ANTHONY SIMIEN, and MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS for possession of loaded weapons in front of LA-SNCC headquarters, 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles.

[REDACTED] (5/18/68)

On April 5, 1968, at 8:30 p.m. at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, the headquarters for LA-SNCC, GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, and MICHAEL R. SEALS were observed entering LA-SNCC headquarters carrying weapons. These three persons were observed to remove two .30 caliber M-1 carbines and a pump type shotgun. When the LAPD officers arrived at the headquarters, the above persons slammed the front door and locked it. After they were commanded to open the door, HOPKINS

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and SIMIEN came out and were placed under arrest. LAPD officers then forced entry into the building and recovered the above weapons which were in the back room at this location. The above carbine had a 30 round magazine fully loaded and inserted into the carbine and a 12 gauge shotgun pump action containing four rounds of Super X, 00 gauge buckshot was also recovered.

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

On May 4, 1968, the following SNCC members were arrested at 2837 South Bronson for suspicion of robbery:

STANLEY ALEXANDER  
MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN  
GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS  
THOMAS LOUIE VALENTINE  
STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT  
BETTY ALLEN

When these individuals were arrested, they possessed two nine millimeter Astra automatics; one .38 colt revolver; and one .300 caliber Browning automatic.

[REDACTED] (5/4/68)

On May 4, 1968, source furnished a brochure published by LA-SNCC indicating that BARBARA REINE HARDING,

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program director, would be the featured speaker at 1830 Hi Point Street, Los Angeles, California.

[REDACTED] (5/14/68)

On May 14, 1968, source advised that MIKE WILLIAMS, a member of SNCC was passing out LA-SNCC literature to students at Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles, California.

VII. CHARACTERIZATION OF SNCC

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968,

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

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VIII. ASSOCIATION WITH INDIVIDUALS HAVING COMMUNIST  
PARTY BACKGROUND

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)  
[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

As of May 16, 1968, FRANKLIN D. ALEXANDER, assistant director of LA-SNCC, was a member of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP).

[REDACTED]  
IX. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

[REDACTED] (2/14/68)

On February 2, 1968, JAMES FORMAN, a representative of National SNCC was one of the featured speakers at a mass rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles.

[REDACTED] (2/19/68)  
[REDACTED] (2/23/68)  
[REDACTED] (2/23/68)  
[REDACTED] (2/23/68)

The above sources advised that H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL were featured speakers at a Black Congress sponsored rally for the Defense of Huey P. Newton at the Los Angeles Sports Arena, Los Angeles, on February 18, 1968.

X. TRAVEL BY LA-SNCC OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

[REDACTED] (4/7/68)  
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] (4/22/68)

[REDACTED] (5/15/68)

[REDACTED] (4/9/68)

On April 9, 1968, source indicated that TOMMY RAY JACQUETTE would be speaking at Arizona State University on May 14, 1968.

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

[REDACTED] {5/16/68}  
[REDACTED] {5/16/68}

The above sources indicated that LA-SNCC members have been instructed to purchase weapons and to be armed at all times. According to the above sources, most SNCC members are armed and if they do not have weapons on their person, they will either have them in their automobiles or their residence.

LA-SNCC MEMBERS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

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XII. GLOSSARY

FRANKLIN DELANO ALEXANDER

Vice-president of LA-SNCC

[REDACTED] (3/11/68)

Source indicated that ALEXANDER is a member of the SCDCP.

STANLEY ALEXANDER, also known as "Deacon"

Office manager of LA-SNCC

Described in SNCC literature as young black leader who was one of the first members of the SNCC Youth Corps, and is involved in the black draft resistance movement.

BETTY JO ALLEN

Office worker of LA-SNCC

Described in LA-SNCC literature as young dedicated office worker who was formerly involved in National SNCC schools

CLARICE ALLEN

[REDACTED] (3/11/68)

Source advised that CLARICE ALLEN is an office secretary for LA-SNCC.

ANTHONY ASHLEY

[REDACTED] (3/11/68)

Source indicated that ASHLEY is a member and officer of LA-SNCC.

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DANNY J. BAKERELL, SR.

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Carried on the membership list of LA-SNCC.

HUBERT GERROYD BROWN, also known as H. Rap Brown

Publicly known as National Chairman of SNCC.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

Publicly known as the former chairman of National SNCC and is presently organizer and representative for National SNCC.

HIRAM CHANNEL

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Source advised that CHANNEL is a member of LA-SNCC and is part of the LA-SNCC security force.

ANGELA Y. DAVIS

DAVIS is publicly known as a member of SNCC.

RONNIE MC KIMLEY EVERETT, also known as Ron Karenga

Chairman of US.

JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD

In the LA-SNCC literature, FLOYD has been given the title of organizer, secretary-treasurer, and is presently called chairman of LA-SNCC.

JAMES FORMAN

FORMAN is publicly known as the director of international affairs for National SNCC.

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CHARLES GORDON

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that CHARLES GORDON is a member of LA-SNCC.

SHIRLEY GRANT

[REDACTED] (3/9/68)

Source indicated that SHIRLEY GRANT is office secretary at LA-SNCC.

BARBARA RENE HARDING, also known as Rene Hodges

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that HODGES is currently secretary and program chairman for LA-SNCC.

FRANK C. HARDING

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that HODGES is the spouse of BARBARA RENE HODGES (characterized above) and is a member of LA-SNCC and has been given the assignment of purchasing weapons for LA-SNCC members.

WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR.

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

HAYES is considered a spokesman for LA-SNCC and is a constant companion of LA-SNCC member JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD.

BOBBIE JOYCE HODGES

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

BOBBIE HODGES is office secretary and former assistant treasurer of LA-SNCC.

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GEORGE DAVID HOPKINS

[REDACTED] (4/6/68)

Source indicated that HOPKINS is a security officer for LA-SNCC and has been arrested by the LAPD for possession of loaded firearms at SNCC headquarters.

TOMMY RAY JACQUETTE

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Source related that JACQUETTE is an extreme Black Nationalist militant and was former LA-SNCC director and is presently field director for SNCC.

HUEY P. NEWTON

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

NEWTON is minister of defense for the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (see appendix), Oakland, California.

JOHNNIE E. RAINES

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

RAINES is a member of LA-SNCC.

JAMES ROBERTSON

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

ROBERTSON is a LA-SNCC member who has aspirations for a leadership position in LA-SNCC.

ELIZABETH ROTTGER

[REDACTED] (11/29/67)  
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

KENNETH ROTTGER

See characterization for spouse, ELIZABETH ROTTGER.

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that SCOTT is LA-SNCC photographer and writes many of their pamphlets.

MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS

[REDACTED] (4/6/68)

Source indicated SEALS is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested April 6, 1968, at LA-SNCC headquarters and charged with possession of loaded firearms. He has been arrested by LAPD in the past for assault and battery.

MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN

[REDACTED] (4/6/68)

Source advised on April 6, 1968, that SIMIEN is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested at their headquarters for possession of loaded firearms.

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CAROL RUTH SILVER

On January 17, 1968, SILVER advised a Special Agent of the FBI that she is a member of the Los Angeles Communist Alert Patrol, an organization of Black Nationalists who spy on police officers performing their duties in South Los Angeles and is an attorney with the California Rural Assistance League, which is a private agency operated under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

CLARENCE GREGORY SULLIVAN

[REDACTED] (4/6/68)

Source indicated that SULLIVAN was arrested on April 6, 1968, at LA-SNCC headquarters for interfering in the arrest of three SNCC security officers.

THOMAS VALENTINE

[REDACTED] (4/3/68)

Source furnished literature on April 8, 1968, which indicated that VALENTINE is a staff worker for LA-SNCC.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, also known as Mike

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

On May 16, 1968, source indicated that WILLIAMS is a member of LA-SNCC.

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, also known as Brother Crooke

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Source indicated that WILKINS at one time was listed in SNCC literature as president of LA-SNCC but has recently been reported in SNCC pamphlets as being spokesman and leader.

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STANLEY WAYNE WRIGHT

[REDACTED] (4/18/68)

Source furnished a LA-SNCC brochure which listed WRIGHT as a student of Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas. He is alleged to have killed a Houston policeman and is presently on the West Coast to speak on college campuses for SNCC.

LA 100-63822

XIII. APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

### COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE, Also Known As Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 14, 1967, that the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed in Washington, D.C. It is a peace oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). In recent months the organization has sponsored demonstrations protesting the United States involvement in Vietnam and calling for the complete withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam. In the spring of 1966, it was instrumental in originating and putting into effect a campaign advocating a peace for "peace candidates" in the upcoming 1966 congressional elections.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities members of, or persons sympathetic to, the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP groups is MARY CLARKE. A second source advised in July, 1966, that CLARKE was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACP) in the Spring of 1965, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences with the LACP.

The first source advised that Southern California WSP calls its office at 4899 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, and receives mail through Post Office Box 19757, Los Angeles 19, California.

APPENDIX

"US", Also known as  
"US" Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1966, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 6211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to "give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose . . . based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture."

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled, "The Quotable Malcolm", authored by MAULANA RON KARNGA, also known as Ronie Mc Kinley Everett, the Founder-Chairman of "US". Regarding culture, this booklet advises:

"...US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, reactivation and circulation of Afro-American culture. . . .The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos. . . .We must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically. . . ."

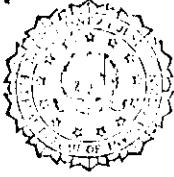
Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

"...You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction. . . .The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one. . . .When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are. . . ."

Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"...We must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws are made to perpetrate a system, not destroy it. . . .We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have

APPENDIX CONTINUED



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

May 29, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-63822

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]  
dated and captioned as above  
at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

APPENDIX C-1

to get power by talking to the man--let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia--let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power. . ."

Regarding religion, this booklet advises:

"...The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that backs us down on the streets; and quiet as it's kept, when the thing goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity. . ."

"...Jesus said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow'. Who wants to be white but sick Negroes!, or worse yet--washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew.. You know if Kodak's bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it. . ."

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are required to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karanga".

The first source advised that "US" membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Karate and cultural activities such as arts and swing. The second level is comprised of members who act as office guards and make speeches. The third, and highest level of membership, is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 9/18/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/27/68 - 9/16/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY fsc
		CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTER	

REFERENCES: New Orleans airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 6/5/68.  
 Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 8/19/68.  
 Atlanta letter to Director dated 9/4/68.  
 New York letter to Los Angeles dated 9/10/68.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been prepared at the request of Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice, concerning certain documents and information contained in referenced New Orleans airtel and LHM dated 6/5/68.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: 5 - Bureau (100-43919A) (RM) 1 - Atlanta (100-648E) (Info) (RM) 1 - New York (100-147963) (Info) (RM) 2 - Los Angeles (100-63822)		25 SEP 20 1968
		26-56
		REC-34
		101

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	REC- 50
Agency	ACENCY: AOSI, SEC. SEC. SERV.		
Request Recd.	CRM : RAO/1016		
Date Fwd.	HOW TO W: RIS		
How Fwd.	DATE FORW: 10/15/68		
	B7: 1016 files		

C:\1\1016\1016 files

LA 100-63822

This report is being classified "Confidential" since information reported from [REDACTED] through [REDACTED] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness thereof.

INFORMANTS

<u>Source</u>	<u>Location</u>
[REDACTED]	100-63822-1312-1313

[REDACTED]	100-63822-1541
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[REDACTED]	100-63822-1541
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[REDACTED]	100-63822-1541
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[REDACTED]	100-63822-1510 through 1517 Orally to SA [REDACTED] 9/13/68 (Instant Report)
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[REDACTED]	100-63822-1536
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**Copy to:****Report of:** SA [REDACTED] **Office:** Los Angeles, California  
**Date:** 9/18/68**Field Office File #:** 100-63822**Bureau File #:** 100-439190**Title:** STUDENT NONVIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)**Character:** RACIAL MATTER**Synopsis:** Documents obtained from Los Angeles Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) members in New Orleans, Louisiana, during 5/14/68 through 5/25/68 are set forth. Enclosed are authors, authorization, purpose, and dissemination of documents set forth. SNCC Youth Corps, its curriculum, and program set forth. SNCC Youth Corps program terminated in Los Angeles.

- P -

**DETAILS:****PREDICATION**

Investigation in this matter was requested by Mr. J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., concerning certain literature and programs of the SNCC organization.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
(SNCC) (See Appendix)

(6/4/68)

On June 4, 1968, source furnished documents which were obtained from members of LA-SNCC (See Appendix) who were in New Orleans, Louisiana, during the period of

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May 14, 1968 through May 25, 1968, for the trial of H. RAY BROWN then National Chairman of SNCC. The following documents were furnished:

"A Black Survival Curriculum"  
"National SNCC Community Projects in Effect in  
Los Angeles"  
"Don't Shut Me Out"

"A BLACK SURVIVAL CURRICULUM"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A BLACK SURVIVAL CURRICULUM

by

HERMAN FERGESSON

Los Angeles S.M.C.C.  
199th West Jefferson  
Los Angeles 90018  
731-7378

2

-3-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A Black Survival Curriculum

There are as many definitions for the word curriculum as there are word merchants in education who specialize in defining words into complete confusion. For our purposes here we will deal with word curriculum to mean all of the forces both inside and outside the school; waking and sleeping, that affect and influence every thought and action of the child. It is the responsibility of the curriculum planner to recognize and to understand the exact nature of the child's myriad of daily experiences, and then translate these into a structured learning pattern that does not destroy him in the process.

A cursory examination of the American public school curriculum is sufficient to reveal that what is taught and how it is taught has no connection with no relevency for black pupils at all. In as much as the current curriculum does reflect the experiences of the anglo-saxon society, it is obvious that the absence of anything relating to the African-American is deliberate and by choice.

I do not intend to examine the reasons for this cruel omission. The time for establishing a rationale for the many crimes committed against Black people in America has long been exhausted. Great Black heroes such as Robert Walker, Henry Highland Garnett, Denmark Vesey, Malcolm X, pointed out time and time again that we must live in a bold and defiant manner if we are to survive as a people.

It is not enough for us to demand the control of our schools. Once we really take this control we must be prepared to teach our black youth how to survive in the hostile society that we do not yet control.

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Our course of study will be based on the premise that the Anglo-Saxon based curriculum is one enigma for our children and that in addition to substituting an African-American based curriculum in its place, we must teach black students to survive until such time as the instinctive creativity that all black people possess in abundance is freed to create a new order of things.

Let us take a look at a school in which the Black student is learning self-determination, self-control and self-defense as a vital element in his learning process. Our Black student enters a building adorned with pictures of great Black fighters such as Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Muhammed Ali, etc. The walls of the corridors and the classrooms are covered with signs bearing such survival slogans as, "Learn or Burn", "Teach or Reach", "Incret or Duck", "Unite or Perish", "Keep on Pushing", etc. His school day begins in his homeroom with a pledge of allegiance to his own red, black and green flag. His pledge is a poem such as LeRoi Jones, "We Are Beautiful People".

After the morning exercises are over he goes to Physical Training where the first part of the period is devoted to target practice on the school shooting range. Following this he reports to a nearby classroom for instruction in weaponry, gun handling and gun safety. His next class takes place in the gymnasium where he is given a lesson in one of the eastern martial arts of self-defense. In the study of original languages more functional and to motivate him to master his native tongue, all instruction in the self-defense and weaponry classes are conducted in Swahili and Yoruba. He

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will not be able to function adequately in these classes until he can speak the language in which they are taught. Immediately following this class he reports for instruction in his original language to his language teacher who is responsible for including in his lesson plan provisions for the vocabulary necessary for use in the Self-Defense and Weaponry classes. These two courses of study will be the prestige courses of study will be courses in the school. In as much as a good course in weaponry must include basic information from such disciplines as Math, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, and since his Physical training will deal with developing his neuro-muscular system to high degree of efficiency, a total curriculum could be planned using these two areas as the core or base.

As our Black Student moves about the building, loud speakers placed in the ceilings continuously bathe him with the quiet sound of Malcolm X speaking, LeRoi Jones reading one of his poems, Aretha Franklin singing a soul song, and other Black heroes speaking to him and filling him with a constant pride in his blackness. His afternoon is spent studying the traditional subjects of reading writing, and arithmetic. The reading material has a historical and geographical flavor and it focuses on the life stories of Black heroes like Malcolm X, Garvey, H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, LeRoi Jones, Nat Turner, and other lesser known Black people. The readers are graded and beautifully illustrated with pictures that reflect the image of the Black child. His math will not only deal with the mechanics of the science, but go deeply into the history and the logic of numbers. His math problems will focus on such practical matters as wind velocity, muzzle velocity, and other mathematical considerations involved in firing, repairing and making weapons.

Program material put together by Black programmers is presented to the student to expose him at an early age to computers and other equipment.

Boys and girls are exposed to the same curriculum. The Home Economic course stresses first aid and how to survive of the surrounding environment if all food and fuel supplies into the Black community are cut off. Shop courses focus on such functional skills as making and repairing various types of electronic equipment and gunsmithing.

The student studies the history and culture of his people carefully to understand fully the unique contributions his ancestors made to the development of this country and to the world.

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The school day ends with a 15 second period of silent meditation in memory of the millions of Black heroes who have given their lives that we might survive for another day. He now hurries to the many after school activities that are provided for him in the building and that allow him to extend and to apply the skills he learned during the formal school day in a more informal setting.

His school is the focal point for all community activities. Social events, political meetings, cultural programs, etc., are held in the building because the building belongs to the community. His school is controlled by an elected parent group that is fully responsible for setting standards, hiring and firing all personnel, evaluation of the program, and budget control with all money allotted to the school deposited in a Black bank to the account of the controlling parent group.

Parent participation in all phases of the school life is welcomed and given freely. It is impossible to distinguish between the professional teacher and the parent teacher. A Black child who completes this course of study will emerge with his mind intact and with a full understanding of his role in the society as it stands presently.

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Our graduates will not be found dying in far off places in an army that represents the same forces that oppress and exploit us daily. He will know exactly where his battlefield is.

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The March 9, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" (See Appendix) on Page 16, contained a column captioned "A Black Survival Curriculum" which is identical in content to that which is furnished above. The column is written by HERMAN FERGUSON who is described by the editors as an ex-school principal and current consultant to the Board of Intermediate School, 201, New York City, New York.

[REDACTED] (5/1/68)

On June 1, 1968, source furnished a copy of "A Black Survival Curriculum" obtained from the headquarters of the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), 58 West 25th Street, New York City. Inscribed next to the title were the words "By HERMAN FERGUSON". The source was unable to ascertain the author of the words. A second pamphlet was obtained from YAWF by source on the same date and was captioned "Another Look at the Case of the Queen's 17" by HERMAN FERGUSON. This contained information about the New York trial of 17 Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) (See Appendix) members charged with criminal anarchy.

[REDACTED] (8/30/68)

On August 30, 1968, source advised that "A Black Survival Curriculum" was written by HERMAN BENJAMIN FERGUSON, for use in SNCC's Liberation Schools. He related that SNCC is currently attempting to create a liberation school project on a national basis. The FERGUSON article is being considered for inclusion in the curriculum. The project itself has not yet been instituted and appears to be somewhat dormant according to this source.

[REDACTED] (9/6/68)

On August 3, 1968, source obtained a copy of "A Black Survival Curriculum" [REDACTED]. The source stated that the philosophies set out in the document are a rewording of the RAM philosophy prepared by RAM leaders.

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[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] at LA-SNCC Headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, source obtained "A Black Survival Curriculum" which was furnished to all SNCC members present. Source indicated that the author of this pamphlet was HERMAN FERGUSON from New York City, New York, but was unaware of his connections with the SNCC organization.

[REDACTED] (9/3/68)

A source from Atlanta, Georgia, where the Headquarters for the National SNCC organization is located, indicated that he was not familiar with the literature written by HERMAN FERGUSON entitled "A Black Survival Curriculum".

The article captioned "A Black Survival Curriculum" which appeared in the "National Guardian" on March 9, 1968, on Page 16, which was mentioned above written by HERMAN FERGUSON is as follows:

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Liberation  
Forum

A black survival curriculum

There are as many definitions for the word curriculum as there are word merchants in education who specialize in defining words into complete confusion. For our purposes here we will deal with the word curriculum to mean all of the forces, both inside and outside the school, waking and sleeping, that affect and influence every thought and every action of the child. It is the responsibility of the curriculum planner to recognize and to understand the exact nature of the child's myriad of daily experiences, and then translate these into a structured learning pattern that does not destroy him in the process.

A cursory examination of the U.S. public school curriculum is sufficient to reveal that what is taught and how it is taught has no connection with nor relevancy for black pupils at all. Inasmuch as the current curriculum does reflect the experiences of the Anglo-Saxon society, it is obvious that the absence of anything relating to the African-American is deliberate and by choice.

I do not intend to examine the reasons for this cruel omission. The time for establishing a rationale for the many crimes committed against black people in America has long been exhausted. Great black heroes such as Robert Walker, Henry Highland Garnett, Denmark Vesey and Malcolm X, pointed out time and time again that we must act in a bold and a defiant manner if we are to survive as a people.

It is not enough for us to demand control of our schools. Once we really take this control we must be prepared to teach our black youth how to survive in the hostile society that we do not yet control.

Our course of study will be based on the premise that the Anglo-Saxon based curriculum is one of enslavement for our children and that in addition to substituting an African-American based curriculum in its place, we must teach black students to survive until such time as the instinctive creativity that all black people possess in abundance is freed to create a new order of things.

Let us take a look at a school in which the black student is learning self-determination, self-control and self-defense as a vital element in his learning process.

Our black student enters a building adorned with pictures of great black fighters such as Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Muhammad Ali, etc. The walls of the corridors and the classrooms are covered with signs bearing such survival slogans as "Learn or Burn," "Teach or Reach," "Instruct or Duck," "Unite or Perish,"

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

16, Guardian

Date: 3/19/68

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

*The author was formerly an assistant principal and is now a consultant to the community governing board of Intermediate School 201 in New York's Harlem. He was recently jailed and held under \$100,000 bail for urging black people to arm for self-defense during a Malcolm X memorial service at IS 201.*

"Keep on Pushing," etc. His school day begins in his homeroom with a pledge of allegiance to his own red, black and green flag. His pledge is a poem such as LeRoi Jones' "We Are Beautiful People."

After the morning exercises are over he goes to physical training where the first part of the period is devoted to target practice on the school shooting range. Following this he reports to a nearby classroom for instruction in weaponry, gun handling and gun safety. His next class takes place in the gymnasium where he is given a lesson in one of the Eastern martial arts of self-defense. To make his study of original languages more functional and to motivate him to master his native tongue, all instruction in the self-defense and weaponry classes are conducted in Swahili and Yoruba. He will not be able to function adequately in these classes until he can speak the language in which they are taught. Immediately following this class he reports for instruction in his original language to his language teacher who is responsible for including in his lesson plan provisions for the vocabulary necessary for use in the self-defense and weaponry classes. These two courses of study will be the prestige courses in the school. Inasmuch as a good course in weaponry must include basic information from such disciplines as math, physics, chemistry and biology, and since his physical training will deal with developing his neuromuscular system to a high degree of efficiency, a total curriculum could be planned using these two areas as the core or base.

As our black student moves about the building, loud-speakers placed in the ceilings continuously bathe him with the quiet sound of Malcolm X speaking, LeRoi Jones reading one of his poems, Aretha Franklin singing a soul song and other black heroes speaking to him and filling him with a constant pride in his blackness.

His afternoon is spent studying the traditional subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic. The reading material has a historical and geographical flavor and it focuses on the life stories of black heroes like Malcolm X, Garvey, H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, LeRoi Jones, Nat Turner and other lesser-known black people. The readers are graded and beautifully illustrated with pictures that reflect the image of the black child. His math not only deals with the mechanics of the science, but goes deeply into the history and the logic of numbers. His math problems focus on such practical matters as wind velocity, muzzle velocity and other

mathematical considerations involved in firing, repairing and making weapons.

Programmed material put together by black programmers is presented to the student to expose him at an early age to computers and other electronic equipment that is used in a technological society so that he will be familiar and at ease with the language and the operation of this type of equipment.

Boys and girls are exposed to the same curriculum. The home economics course stresses first aid and how to survive off the surrounding environment if all food and fuel supply lines into the black community are cut off. Shop courses focus on such functional skills as making and repairing various types of electronic equipment and gunsmithing.

The student studies the history and culture of his people carefully to fully understand the unique contributions his ancestors made to the development of this country and to the world.

The school day ends with a 15-second period of silent meditation in memory of the millions of black heroes who have given their lives that we may survive for another day. He now hurries to the many after-school activities that are provided for him in the building and that allow him to extend and to apply the skills he learned during the formal school day in a more informal setting.

His school is the focal point for all community activities. Social events, political meetings, cultural programs, etc., are held in the building because the building belongs to the community. His school is controlled by an elected parent group that is fully responsible for setting standards, hiring and firing all personnel, evaluation of the program and budget control with all money allotted to the school deposited in a black bank to the account of the controlling parent group.

Parent participation in all phases of school life is welcomed and given freely. It is impossible to distinguish between the professional teacher and the parent teacher.

A black child who completes this course of study will emerge with his mind intact and with a full understanding of his role in society as it stands presently. Our graduate will not be found dying in far-off places in an army that represents the same forces that oppress and exploit him daily. He will know exactly where his battlefield is.

Herman Ferguson

LA 100-63822

It would appear that the SNCC organization in Los Angeles, California, attached a cover sheet to the copies of FERGUSON's article taken from the "National Guardian" and misspelled his name.

"NATIONAL SNCC COMMUNITY PROJECTS IN EFFECT  
IN LOS ANGELES"

A copy of the pamphlet "National SNCC Community Projects in Effect in Los Angeles" is as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
S.N.C.C. COMMUNITY PROJECTS

IN EFFECT IN LOS ANGELES

PROJECT # 1 - LEGAL DEFENSE - MEDICAL CADRE

A committee composed of Black lawyers who have volunteered to be on 24 hour call to offer legal aide to our community. In addition to this, the lawyers will be assisted by volunteer law students doing the clerical work i.e. accompanying the lawyer to jail and writing the briefs - doing the leg work. This serves a two-fold purpose; it assists the attorney so that he spends a minimum amount of time and yet offers a valuable service to his community, and offers valuable on the job training for the law student.

Included in this project are medical doctors. They will volunteer for 24 hour call to go to the jail and examine the Brothers or Sisters to make sure they are in good condition. This examination will serve to deter the police from beating Brothers and Sisters, and this plays a vital and necessary role in the Black Liberation struggle.

PROJECT # 2 - LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Liberation School is a project designed to aide our Black Sisters and Brothers to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for survival. We will hold the Liberation School in the churches in the community, and our instructors will be students majoring in education as well as other qualified people from our community. The agenda for the school will be announced. The emphasis however, will be on skills necessary for the survival of our people.

PROJECT # 3 - S.N.C.C. NEWSLETTER

The S.N.C.C. Newsletter is vital to our Liberation struggle. It will serve to inform the Black community of events which directly effect our survival, also it will disseminate information which the white press refuses to

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

give. Thus it serves the Black community as an alternative to the White press! Informing Black people of information and services vital to our survival.

The Newsletter will be operated by members of the Black community who are serving as volunteer staff, and will address itself only to the needs of Black people.

PROJECT # 4 - SELF-DEFENSE UNITS

We are concerned with the survival of our people - Black people. It is becoming more and more necessary for us to learn the art of Self-Defense. We will form rifle clubs in order to learn the proper use and handling of firearms. These classes will be open to all members of the Black community. Also there is a need to know hand to hand defense. We are holding Black Karate classes open to all members of our community. It is necessary for all Black people to be well skilled in the Martial Arts - our survival depends on this.

PROJECT # 5 - SURVIVAL REFUGEE STATIONS

This project is on-going and will only be used in crisis time. We will find abandoned warehouses, cellars, and any place we can use as a cache to store staple goods, and medical supplies. Also key people through the community will be instructed in first aids and will in turn come back into the community and teach other brothers and sisters.

PROJECT # 6 - AFRO-AMERICAN SKILLS BANK

We have a program pending with the Zambian Government where we will send Brothers and Sisters who are skilled in their professions over to aid in the development of their nation. This program will be intial, hopefully throughout all of the Third World, and thus it offers an alternative to the so-called Peace Corps.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

PROJECT 7 : INRAMADU (NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR-ANTI-DRAFT UNION)

This is S.N.C.C.'s National Anti-War Anti-Draft program. It coordinates all Black Draft resistance through the nation, offers Brothers the legal alternatives, and an escape mechanism.

LA 100-63822

[REDACTED] (8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source obtained a copy of the above pamphlet at LA-SNCC Headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (9/13/68)

On September 13, 1968, source indicated that the above program has not been established in LA-SNCC, and to date there has been no attempt to establish this curriculum for the organization.

"DON'T SHUT ME OUT"

The pamphlet "Don't Shut Me Out" also known as "Some Thought of How to Move a Group of People from One Point to Another or Some Basic Steps Toward Becoming a Good Political Organizer!" written by JAMES FORMAN then Organizational-Secretary of SNCC is as follows:

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DON'T SHUT ME OUT.

SOME THOUGHTS ON HOW TO MOVE  
A GROUP OF PEOPLE FROM ONE  
POINT TO ANOTHER

OR

SOME BASIC STEPS TOWARD BECOMING  
A GOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZER!

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THIS PAPER IS DIVIDED INTO FOUR SECTIONS.

- A. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF POWER FOR US, THE POWERLESS.
- B. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS A LEADER.
- C. THREE QUALITIES OF A GOOD ORGANIZER.
- D. SEVEN STEPS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST TAKE IF HE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE.

PREPARED FOR S.N.C.C.'S PROGRAMMATIC WORKSHOPS HELD IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA,  
FEBRUARY 1 THROUGH 24, 1967.

THIS PAPER IS ALSO A RESPONSE TO SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT LEADERSHIP  
RAISED IN THE FIRST ISSUE OF ROCK BOTTOM.

JAMES FORMAN

ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY

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A. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF POWER FOR US, THE POLITBUSS.

POWER  
ORGANIZATION  
EDUCATION  
HARD WORK

POWER = ORGANIZATION + EDUCATION + HARD WORK

PEOPLE SINK POWER THROUGH INTERNAL ORGANIZATION WHICH CAN BEST BE MAINTAINED BY CONTINUOUS INTERNAL EDUCATION AND THAT MEANS HARD WORK.

GOT IT!

POWER IS OBTAINED THROUGH ORGANIZATION AND THIS IS MAINTAINED THROUGH CONSTANT POLITICAL EDUCATION AND THAT MAKES THIS WORK.

HARD WORK + EDUCATION + ORGANIZATION = POWER

POWER  
ORGANIZATION  
EDUCATION  
HARD WORK

1. YOU WORK AND WORK AND WORK AND WORK AND IF YOU'RE NOT WILLING TO WORK, THERE'S NO NEED TO READ FURTHER, FOR IN ORDER TO ORGANIZE PEOPLE YOU MUST BE WILLING TO OUTWORK THOSE YOU ORGANIZE AND YOU MUST NOT LOOK FOR ANY THANKS OR PRAISE. YOU HAVE THE STRENGTH FROM WITHIN THAT WHAT YOU ARE DOING IS GOING TO HELP IN THE LONG RUN OF HISTORY AND THAT IS YOUR REWARD!

2. YOU EDUCATE SOME PEOPLE IN THE BEGINNING AS TO WHAT YOUR OBJECTIVES ARE WHICH MUST BE IDENTICAL WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION.

YOU SAY:

"THIS IS THE PROGRAM OF S.N.C.C. AND WE WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND WHY THIS PROGRAM IS IMPORTANT TO US AND WHY IT SHOULD BE IMPORTANT TO YOU...IF YOU AGREED WITH THIS PROGRAM WE EXPECT YOU TO EDUCATE OTHERS ABOUT IT. WE HAVE A PROGRAM OF INTERNAL EDUCATION FOR THOSE WHOM WE ORGANIZE AND WE WANT YOU TO USE IT SO THAT ALL OF US MAY GROW STRONG. THE MORE PEOPLE WE HAVE WHO ARE UNITED THE STRONGER WE WILL BE. AND THAT IS WHY WE MUST ORGANIZE, AND HAVE ORGANIZATION.

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3. "WE MOVE AS A POLITICAL UNIT. WE ARE ORGANIZED INTO SIMILAR UNITS IN OTHER PLACES. WHAT I AM TELLING YOU ALL OUR ORGANIZERS ARE SAYING TO PEOPLE JUST LIKE US, POOR BLACK PEOPLE WHO HAVE SO MUCH POWER, BUT THAT POWER IS UNORGANIZED. IT RESIDES IN YOU AND ME, BUT WE MUST DANCE TOGETHER FOR STRIKEUP THAT IS WHY WE ARE ORGANIZING INTO FREEDOM ORGANIZATIONS.

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WE INTEND TO USE THOSE ORGANIZATIONS AS A FORCE, A RESISTANCE FORCE AGAINST RACISM, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION. WE WILL TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF JOBS, OF INCOME, OF AUTOMATION, BAD HOUSING, LACK OF QUALITY EDUCATION. WELFARE AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR CULTURAL TRADITIONS IN AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. AND WE WILL ALSO WORK WITH YOUNG PEOPLE FOR WE MAY WELL BE A LOST GENERATION BUT WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO THE FUTURE. WE MUST HAVE ORGANIZATION ON ALL LEVELS. EVERY TIME ONE, TWO, OR THREE OF US ARE GATHERED WE MUST ORGANIZE OURSELVES AND EDUCATE OTHERS AND WORK HARD.

b. THIS IS A PROGRAM FOR POWER, FOR BLACK POWER, POWER FOR US.

B. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS A LEADER.

THROUGHOUT S.N.C.C.'S HISTORY WE HAVE HAD VARIOUS CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP EXPRESSED VERBALLY AND IN ACTION. WE HAVE ALSO SEEN OURSELVES AS SELF-FACING ORGANIZERS WHO ARE NOT LEADERS IN ANY SENSE OF THE WORD. WE HAVE ON THE OTHER HAND SEEN STRONG LEADERSHIP EXERCISED BY SELF-FACING, SO-CALLED NON-LEADERS. SOME HAVE SAID THAT WE GO INTO A COMMUNITY AND WORK ON WHATEVER THE PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN. OTHERS HAVE SAID THIS IS NONSENSE; WE HAVE IDEAS AND WE WORK TO SEE THESE IDEAS IMPLEMENTED. THERE IS AN INTERACTION BETWEEN US AND PEOPLE.

NOWITHSTANDING OUR WORDS, EXCEPT FOR VERY FEW INSTANCES, WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD PLANS --- DIRECT ACTION, VOTER REGISTRATION, FREEDOM SCHOOLS, COMMUNITY CENTERS, INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, SOME ECONOMIC PROGRAMS, AND SO FORTH.

THE DEBATE OVER ORGANIZING IN A COMMUNITY ALSO FOUND ITSELF IN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT HOW WE ORGANIZE S.N.C.C. WE HAVE PASSED THROUGH MANY STAGES --- THE BELOVED SOCIETY, THE COMMUNITY OF EQUALS, THE LEADERLESS LEADERS, INTERWEAVING AND CONCENTRIC CIRCLES, FREEDOM HIGH, "ADVANCED STAGE OF CAMOUFLAGE", BEGINNING STEPS OF FANON --- AND NOW, I HOPE, INTO THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL ORGANIZERS, DISCIPLINED, CAPABLE AND WILLING TO EXERCISE LEADERSHIP WITHOUT GUILT.

HENCE, THIS SECTION STARTS FROM THE PREMISE THAT ANY ORGANIZER IS A LEADER, BUT IT MAKES THE STRONG ASSERTION THAT ANY ORGANIZER WHO IS WORKING ON A POLITICAL PROGRAM IS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER, A POLITICAL LEADER. VIEWING HIMSELF IN THIS CATEGORY, HE MUST UNDERSTAND SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES THIS LEADERSHIP IMPOSES UPON HIM, FOR A POLITICAL ORGANIZER OCCUPIES A STRATEGIC POSITION OF LEADERSHIP.

FIRST, THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER REALIZES THAT HIS LEADERSHIP ARISES FROM AND IS NURTURED BY THE PEOPLE. WHILE HE BRINGS PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS TO THE GROUP, THESE PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS FIND EXPRESSION THROUGH THE GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED AND THE PEOPLE HE ORGANIZES.

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THE ORGANIZER MUST PROVIDE LEADERSHIP THROUGH EXAMPLE, WORK, EDUCATING, AND TRAINING OTHERS. HE MUST BE WILLING TO DO THE NITTY GRITTY AND SHITTY WORK THAT PEOPLE ARE OFTEN NOT WILLING TO DO. AT THE SAME

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TIME THROUGH HIS OWN EFFORTS HE DEVELOPS AN AWARENESS IN OTHERS THAT THEY TOO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO DO THE SO-CALLED DIRTY WORK. FAILING TO DO THIS, HIS LEADERSHIP WILL BECOME NEGATIVE AND THE PEOPLE WILL SOON LET HIM KNOW IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER: "JACK, YOU GOT TO MAKE IT. AIN'T NOTHING HERE FOR YOU TO DO. YOU COOED!"

LEADERSHIP IMPLIES THE WILLINGNESS TO GIVE DIRECTION AND TO STRUGGLE FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION. IT IMPLIES A RESPONSIBILITY FOR PLANNING, NOT ONLY PLANNING MEETINGS, BUT OTHER COURSES OF ACTION THAT MUST BE TAKEN. BUT IT ESPECIALLY IMPLIES PLANNING FOR MEETINGS OF ALL SIZES. PEOPLE ARE BUSY AND LEADERSHIP MUST BE EXERCISED IN ORDER TO MAKE MATTERS MORE EFFICIENT.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ORGANIZER MUST INSPIRE CONFIDENCE AND THIS RESULTS FROM A WILLINGNESS TO WORK HARD, TO EDUCATE AND TRAIN OTHERS, AND TO REALIZE HIS ACTIONS WILL EFFECT THE LARGER GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED. THEREFORE, HE UNDERSTANDS THAT HE HAS TO UPHOLD THE STANDARDS OF THE GROUP, BOTH THE GROUP WITH WHICH HE IS ORGANIZING AND THE ONE WITH WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED (S.N.C.C. IN OUR CASE). WHEN ONE MEMBER OF A LARGER UNIT GOOPS IN THIS PLACE IT IS VERY HARD FOR ANOTHER TO GO AND SLAUGHTER THE SITUATION. TIME MOVES ON BUT WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY NOT TO RUSTARD OR SLOW DOWN THE CLOCK.

THE ORGANIZER MUST RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS VERY HARD FOR PEOPLE TO SAY I DON'T KNOW. THEY ARE PROTECTIVE OF THEIR EGOS AS WE ALL ARE. BUT AS A LEADER, THE ORGANIZER IS VERY SENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THOSE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. HE TRIES TO FIND A STYLE OF WORK THAT IS HELPFUL WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PRESERVING DIGNITY. AS HE DOES THIS HE AND THE PEOPLE WILL DEVELOP MORE AND MORE STRENGTH AND WILL OPENLY TALK ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS AND SEARCH FOR ANSWERS.

THE ORGANIZER IS GOING TO FIND THAT HIS POSITION OF LEADERSHIP WILL MAKE HIM THE CENTER OF PROBLEM SOLVING, IF HE ALLOWS THIS TO HAPPEN. THAT IS, MANY PEOPLE WILL WANT HIM TO SOLVE THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE GROUP. ALSO, DEPENDING UPON THE SIZE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GROUP, HE WILL FIND THAT MANY OF THE YOUNGER AND MORE INVISIBLE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP WILL EXPECT HIM TO RUN INTERFERENCE WITH SOMEONE WHO IS IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION, TO CUT THROUGH THE RED TAPE. HE, THE YOUNGER AND LESS VISIBLE MEMBER, HAS NOT FOUND THE STRENGTH OR THE METHOD BY WHICH HE CAN CUT THROUGH SOME OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS OR GET AROUND THE "BUREAUCRATIC HANG-UP."

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST FIND WAYS TO SHIFT THE FOCUS AWAY FROM HIM AS THE PROBLEM SOLVER. ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OR STRUCTURES MUST BE FOUND TO MINIMIZE CONFLICTS THAT ARE BOUND TO OCCUR. ALSO, PEOPLE WHO ASSUME ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS MUST RECOGNIZE A DIFFERENCE IN ROLES AND A CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN WHAT THEY MUST DO AND WHAT THEY MUST DO AND WHAT THE "NON-ADMINISTRATOR" WANTS TO DO. THE "NON-ADMINISTRATOR" HAS TO ALSO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS AND THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATOR. THESE MATTERS CANNOT BE SOLVED WITHOUT CONSTANT DISCUSSION. FAILING TO DISCUSS THEM AND ARRIVING AT A POINT OF VIEW HEALTHY FOR THE ENTIRE UNIT .... THE FIGHT IS ON, TIME IS LOST, ENERGY IS WASTED, FEELINGS ARE HURT, ANIMOSITY AND HATRED BEGINS TO

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GROW THAT AFFECT THE UNITY IN MANY STRANGE WAYS. SOMETIMES THE SO-CALLED NON-ADMINISTRATOR TURNS TO SELF-DESTRUCTIVE ACTS AND INCIDENTS THAT FORCE PEOPLE TO BECOME AWARE OF HIS EXISTENCE. THE ADMINISTRATOR REACTS NEGATIVELY AND THE CIRCLE GOES AROUND AND AROUND. A SOLUTION MUST BE FOUND!

THERE ARE OTHER WAYS THIS PROBLEM CAN BE STATED: IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANY POLITICAL UNIT EVERY PERSON WHO JOINS IT SHOULD BE ASSIGNED AND SHOULD ASSUME SOME ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY. EVERY POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS AN ADMINISTRATOR IN SOME SENSE OF THE WORD. THERE REALLY IS THEN ONLY A DIFFERENCE IN THE HIERARCHY OF ADMINISTRATORS. HOWEVER, THERE IS A DIFFERENCE IN THE AUTHORITY AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF SOME PEOPLE WITHIN THE UNIT. SOMETIMES THERE DEVELOPS WITHIN DIFFERENT PEOPLE WHO ARE WORKING ON A HIGHER LEVEL OF AUTHORITY THAN OTHERS A CERTAIN VESTED INTEREST IN THE ROLES THEY ARE PERFORMING. MANY TIMES THEY MAY NOT BE AWARE OF THESE INTERESTS THEMSELVES. NOR AM I ASSUMING THAT THESE VESTED INTERESTS ARE ALL NEGATIVE. YET THESE INTERESTS OFTEN CLASH WITH THE VESTED INTERESTS OF SOMEONE WHO IS ON A LOWER LEVEL OF AUTHORITY, WHAT HE HAS TO DO IN ORDER TO GET HIS JOB DONE IS NOT THE SAME THAT THE PERSON IN A HIGHER POSITION OF AUTHORITY. THE REVERSE SITUATION DOES OCCUR.

LET US RAISE THIS QUESTION ANOTHER WAY, FOR THE S.N.C.C. POINT OF VIEW. A PERSON HAS BEEN WITH THE ORGANIZATION A LONG PERIOD OF TIME AND HAS EXECUTED ALL ASSIGNMENTS, MANY OF THEM VERY HAZARDOUS. HE IS STILL WILLING TO TAKE THESE ASSIGNMENTS. YET, HE WORKS IN AN OBSCURE PLACE, AWAY FROM THE CAPITOL OF S.N.C.C. OR EVEN AROUND IT. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS THAT IN MANY LITTLE DIFFERENT WAYS THERE ARE NEGATIVE REACTIONS TO HIM UNTIL THERE IS AGAIN A HAZARDOUS ASSIGNMENT. HE HAS TO STRUGGLE TO GET SOME RESOURCES AND YET OTHERS DO NOT HAVE TO MAKE THE SAME STRUGGLE BECAUSE THEY ARE A PART OF THE SO-CALLED IN-GROUPS, HE FEELS.

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST BE AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM AS HE BUILDS UNITS. HE TRIES TO MAKE ALL THOSE WITH WHOM HE WORKS REALIZE THEY MUST STRUGGLE AGAINST INCONSIDERATION SOMETIMES CAUSED BY OVERTWORK AND NOT ENOUGH TIME TO THINK OF THE PROBLEM FROM THE OTHER MAN'S POINT OF VIEW. AT THE SAME TIME THE GOALS AND WORK OF THE UNIT MUST BE AGREED TO BY ALL, OR OTHERWISE THE PROBLEM WILL INCREASE. COMMON GOALS, ACCEPTANCE OF LINES OF AUTHORITY, DISCIPLINE, HARD, FORMS OF APPEAL AND CONSTANT DISCUSSIONS ARE SOME METHODS BY WHICH THE PROBLEM OF CONFLICTING INTEREST CAN BE SOLVED.

THERE IS A RULE OF ADMINISTRATION THAT SAYS ONE CAN DELEGATE AUTHORITY BUT HE CANNOT DELEGATE RESPONSIBILITY. THIS SIMPLY MEANS THAT IF I AM IN CHARGE OF X PROJECT I CAN GIVE ASSIGNMENTS AND AUTHORITY TO THIS OR THAT PERSON BUT IF THE CHIPS GO DOWN AND I AM CALLED ON THE CARPET IT IS ADMINISTRATIVELY UNSOUND AND A WEAK-KNED POSITION TO PUT THE BLAME ON SOMEONE WHO IS WORKING UNDER ME. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS AWARE OF THIS RULE AND ACCEPTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FAILURES OF THIS OR THAT PROJECT NOT WORKING IF IT IS UNDER HIS JURISDICTION OR SUPERVISION. HE DISCUSSES WITH THOSE WHO WERE ASSIGNED TO CARRY OUT CERTAIN FUNCTIONS AND FAILED TO DO THIS AND HE MAY EVEN TAKE ACTION. HOWEVER, HE SHOULD NOT SHIFT THE BURDEN OF THE RESPONSIBILITY

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TO SOMEONE ELSE. AFTER ALL, HE WAS IN CHARGE.

SINCE HE IS A LEADER, THE ORGANIZER MUST STRENGTHEN THE UNIT AND THE TRANSITION IN HIS OWN LEADERSHIP. THIS IS BEST DONE THROUGH THE PROCESS OF INTERNAL EDUCATION. ANY ORGANIZER CARRIES WITH HIM CERTAIN SKILLS, INFORMATION, CONTACTS, TRAINING AND ASSOCIATION WITH A LARGER GROUP AND THE ONE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. YET HE MUST TRY TO TRANSFER SOME OF THESE TO AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE. WITHOUT THIS ATTITUDE, THE STRUGGLE ENLARGES ITSELF AT A MUCH SLOWER PACE THAN NECESSARY. NATURALLY IN THE PROCESS OF WORKING AND DEVELOPING AN INTERNAL EDUCATION PROGRAM, THE ORGANIZER IS GOING TO LEARN MUCH FROM THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE IS WORKING. THEIR IDEAS AND THEIR BEHAVIOR ARE GOING TO MODIFY MANY OF HIS IDEAS AND BEHAVIOR.

WHEN AND HOW THE TRANSITION IN LEADERSHIP WILL TAKE PLACE IS A VERY KNOTTY QUESTION AND THE BEST SOLUTION IS COLLECTIVE DECISION ABOUT THE PROBLEM. IT IS HIGHLY DEBATEABLE IF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER ALONE IS BEST ABLE TO MAKE THIS DECISION. IN FACT, HE SHOULD NOT EVEN TRY. HE MAY WELL LOOK AT THE SITUATION FROM TOO PERSONAL A PERSPECTIVE AND THEREBY CAUSE DAMAGE TO THE UNIT.

THE Acid TEST OF REFECTIVE LEADERSHIP BY THE POLITICAL ORGANIZER IS HIS WILLINGNESS TO SUBMIT HIS ROLE FOR EXAMINATION, EVALUATION AND CRITICISM. HE MUST BE WILLING TO DO THIS WITH THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE IS WORKING AND WITHIN THE UNIT HE REPRESENTS. IT IS HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO LEAD THIS DISCUSSION AND TO ALWAYS INSIST THAT HIS ROLE IS UP FOR CONSTANT EVALUATION. NATURALLY HE MUST BE WILLING TO EVALUATE HIS OWN EFFORTS, TO ADMIT MISTAKES, TO CORRECT THEM AND MOVE ON, FOR THERE IS WORK TO BE DONE.

IT IS OF COURSE EASY TO CRITICIZE THIS ACTION OR THAT ONE. IT IS NOT SO EASY TO SUGGEST ALTERNATIVES, BUT IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THOSE WHO TAKE POTSHOTS AT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ORGANIZER TO SUGGEST DIFFERENT METHODS OF PROCEEDING ... FOR THE intent OF CONSTANT CONSTRUCTIVE EVALUATION IS TO BUILD SOMETHING BETTER, FOR THERE IS STILL WORK TO BE DONE.

FINALLY, THE ORGANIZER MUST HIMSELF REALIZE THAT HE IS HUMAN. HE WILL MAKE MISTAKES. THERE IS ONLY SO MUCH THAT HE CAN DO IN A GIVEN PERIOD OF TIME AND THERE IS ONLY SO MUCH THAT OTHERS CAN DO. PERFECTION-SEEKING IS A DANGEROUS TRAIT AND LEADS TO MORE DESTRUCTION THAN PERFECTION. WE DO WHAT WE CAN IN THE LIMITED TIME WE HAVE. WE MAKE DECISIONS BASED ON INFORMATION AT THE MOMENT, INFORMATION WE MAY WELL FIND NOT VALID FIVE YEARS FROM NOW, BUT WE MUST MOVE AHEAD, THERE IS INDEED MUCH WORK TO BE DONE. THE HARVEST IS GREAT BUT THE REAPERS ARE FEW.

C. THREE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD ORGANIZER. THESE THREE CHARACTERISTICS OR QUALITIES OR FRUITS APPLY TO ANYONE WHO CONSIDERS HIMSELF AN ORGANIZER IN ANY FIELD OR ANY AREA, WHETHER IT IS SOCIAL WORK, POLITICAL ORGANIZING, ADMINISTRATION, OR FUND RAISING.

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1. HE IS CREATIVE. HE IS A SELF STARTER. HE LIVES WITH A PLAN, WITH LONG AND SHORT RANGE GOALS LEARNED FROM COLLECTIVE DISCUSSION WITH HIS

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UNIT. IF ANY CAT TELLS YOU THAT HE HAS NOTHING TO DO, THAT HE IS WAITING DIRECTION WHILE HE SITS IN A PILE OF DIRT OR SSES A DIRTY FLOOR, AND DOES NOT GET A BROOM RIGHT AWAY, THEN THAT CAT IS NOT AN ORGANIZER. HE IS SAYING IN FACT: "I AM LAZY AND I'M NOT REALLY A GOOD HUSTLER OF WORK."

2. HE IS A PUSHER. HE HAS A GOAL IN MIND, HE MUST GET FROM A TO Z IN X LENGTH OF TIME. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THERE ON TIME UNLESS HE PUSHES HIMSELF AND PUSHES OTHERS WHO ARE WORKING WITH HIM. VERY IMPORTANT THAT HE PUSHES HIMSELF FIRST OF ALL, FOR HE HAS NO RIGHT TO EXPECT OTHERS TO FOLLOW A PHONEY LEAD. IF HE PUSHES HIMSELF AND WORKS HARD, THEN OTHERS WILL WILLINGLY FOLLOW. WE KNOW WHEN THE PUSHER IS SHUCKING AND JIVING. SLAVERY IS ALMOST DEAD WITHIN THE UNITED STATES.

3. HE PAYS ATTENTION TO DETAILS AND HE FOLLOWS THROUGH. LACK OF FOLLOW-UP IS THE GRAVEYARD OF MOST IDEAS AND PLANS. THIS DEATH OFTEN FLIES FROM TAKING ON TOO MANY JOBS, INADEQUATE PLANNING OR RECORD KEEPING, AND SOMETIMES DOWNRIGHT LAZINESS.

D. SEVEN STEPS A POLITICAL ORGANIZER MUST TAKE IF HE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE. COMBINED WITH THE THREE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD ORGANIZER IN ANY FIELD, THESE SEVEN STEPS THEREFORE CONSTITUTE TEN BASIC STEPS IN BECOMING A GOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZER.

1. HE THINKS HE KNOWS AND, YET HE MAY NOT KNOW. THE OTHER GUY MAY BE RIGHT, FOR THE ORGANIZER MUST LEARN FROM THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. THEY CAN TEACH HIM SOMETHING AND HE MUST LEARN IT. THERE IS NO PLACE FOR A DOGMATIC POSITION NOR A BELIEF THAT I, THE ORGANIZER, AM ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. I MUST HAVE THE LAST WORD. THIS ATTITUDE MAY WELL LEAD TO THE FINAL WORK, BUT THERE WILL BE FEW PEOPLE AROUND WILLING TO LISTEN.

2. THE GOOD ORGANIZER SEEKS TO UNDERSTAND THE CUSTOMS, THE LANGUAGE, THE HISTORY, THE STRONG POINTS AND THE WEAK POINTS OF THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. FAILING TO DO THIS, HE WEAKENS HIS OWN EFFECTIVENESS. ONE OF THE TRAGEDIES OF SOME MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE WORKING IN THE SOUTH IS THAT IT TAKES THEM A LONG TIME TO GET ACCUSTOMED TO THE WAYS OF THE PEOPLE AND BY THE TIME THEY DO THEY ARE READY TO RETURN HOME, SOMETIMES FULL OF ROMANTIC NOTIONS ABOUT THE PURITY OF THE LOCAL FOOLKS AND THEIR BEAUTY IN THE MIDST OF POVERTY, DISEASE, DEGRADATION AND DEATH.

3. HE ASSIGNS WORK TO PEOPLE, TO MEN AND TO WOMEN AND TO YOUNG PEOPLE. HE TAKES THE ATTITUDE: "IT MUST MOVE ON AND ORGANIZE OTHERS AND IF YOU REALLY WANT TO DO THIS YOU MUST TAKE STEPS YOURSELF. I CAN HELP YOU GET STARTED, BUT IF YOU AIN'T WILLING TO WORK FOR YOUR OWN LIBERATION -- THEN I MUST GO!"

HAVE SKILLS. MUST TRAVEL.

NO TIME FOR CLINGING VINES.

FERTILE FIELDS I MUST FIND."

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4. THE ORGANIZER MUST ALSO CONCERN HIMSELF WITH HIS OWN SURVIVAL AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNIT WITH WHICH HE IS WORKING. HE SHOULD FIRST LOOK FOR THE NECESSARY RESOURCES FOR SURVIVAL IN THE AREA WHERE HE IS WORKING. THERE IS A RUPEE THAT NO ARMY IS STRONGER THAN ITS SUPPLY ROUTES.

THE FIRST EFFORT OF THE ENEMY IS TO ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE SUPPLY LINES. IN S.G. VIETNAM, IF THE RESOURCES ARE COMING FROM THE AREA IN WHICH ONE IS WORKING, IT BECOMES MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT TO CUT THEM OFF UNLESS THE WORK ITSELF IS DESTROYED.

5. HE SEIZES THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF STRUGGLE IN THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE WORKS. HE MUST BE ALERT AND LOOK AROUND FOR WHAT IS HAPPIENING IN THE SOCIETY AND ACTIVATE SMALL AND LARGE STRUGGLES. HE KNOWS PEOPLE GROW AND LEARN AND DEVELOP FROM COMMITMENTS AND INVOLVEMENT. A SPIRIT OF DEDICATION AND FIGHT DOES NOT ARISE JUST FROM STUDY. ACTION IS KEY TO CHANGE AND MASS MOBILIZATION WILL KNOCK DOWN ALL SORTS OF BARRIERS.

6. YOU MUST HAVE A SENSE OF TIMING. PUSHING TOO FAST WHEN PEOPLE ARE NOT READY WILL LEAD TO NEGATIVE REACTIONS AND THE ORGANIZERS WILL LOSE TIME. YET, THERE ARE SOME ISSUES WHICH CANNOT WAIT NO MATTER WHAT THE PLAN MIGHT BE. PEOPLE MUST REACT SINCE WE DO NOT LIVE IN A CONTROLLED VACUUM OR A SHIELD BOX. AN AWARENESS THAT POSITIVE ACTION IS BETTER THAN NONE AND WILL HAVE POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH WE MIGHT NOT KNOW ... THIS IS FUNDAMENTAL TO DEVELOPING A SOCIAL AWARENESS AND A SENSE OF STRUGGLE IN OURSELVES AND THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM WE WORK.

7. HE MUST CONSTANTLY IMPROVE HIS OWN INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT. HE MUST TAKE TIME TO READ, TO WRITE, TO REST. HE MUST CONSTANTLY EVALUATE HIS ACTIONS AND THE ACTIONS OF OTHERS AND DISCUSS THEM COLLECTIVELY WITH HIS FRIENDS AND FELLOWWORKERS. WE LIVE IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD AND THE GOOD ORGANIZER MUST BE KEPT AWARE OF WORLD EVENTS.

IF THE ORGANIZER KEEPS READING, STUDYING, AND WRITING ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCES, THE ENTIRE UNIT WILL GROW AND THE ORGANIZER HIMSELF WILL ACQUIRE SKILLS THAT MAKE HIM VERY MOBILE, ABLE TO MOVE INTO MANY DIFFERENT KINDS OF SITUATIONS ... AN ABSOLUTE MUST IN OUR TIME.

LA 100-63822

This particular pamphlet is self-explanatory in its authorization and purpose.

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had no knowledge of a pamphlet written by JAMES FORMAN entitled "Don't Shut Me Out".

SNCC YOUTH CORPS (SYC)

[REDACTED] (6/4/68)

On June 4, 1968, source furnished documents which contained information concerning the SYC and members who were in New Orleans, Louisiana, during the period of May 14, 1968 through May 25, 1968 for the trial of H. RAPP BROWN then National Chairman of SNCC. Selected portions of this information concerning SYC are enclosed.

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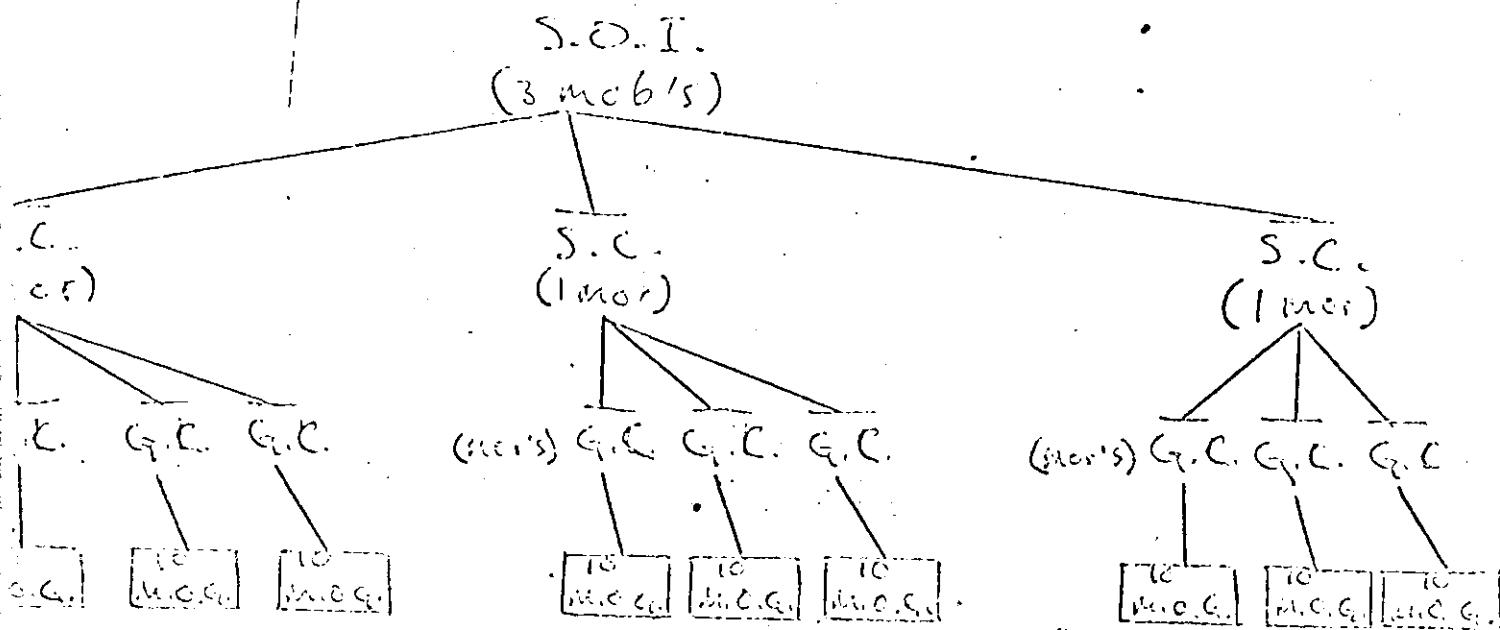
BLACK POWER

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SNC South Corps



Uniform  
field jacket (army)  
black pants  
red or green turtle neck  
boots

weekly schedule

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## Orientalation for SYC

Introduction by S.O.I.

1. espace-de-corps Hakim

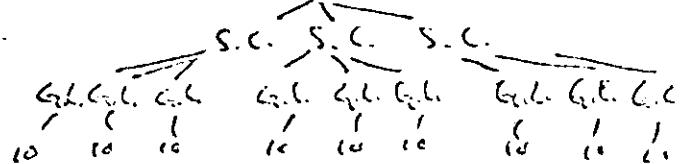
2. mental and physical training Ali

3. program outline

A. weekly schedule - explain each and give purpose  
of each

B. uniform - explain reason for uniform - why this  
kind etc

C. structure of SYC - S.O.T



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F I D E N T I A L

• 6-Week 18<sup>th</sup> Sat. - Movie  
" 3rd " - Poetry

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~~✓ first project  
but it was not  
first project in the weeks~~

Groups (1, 2, 3, etc.)  
Section, Leader  
Skill Master

Secondly construction - instruction  
Building material - instruction

~~U - G - S. I. Sagamore  
W - G - P. T. Festivals  
T - G - D. T. Inn  
S - G - P. C. + B. C. buildings  
S - T - C. A. T. historic regions~~

(e) for  $q_{\text{left}} = p$   
3 groups = section

1. Decs
2. Dependability
3. Security cont.

3/15 April 22<sup>nd</sup>

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CONFIDENTIAL

(and of Ledger & one of his peers)

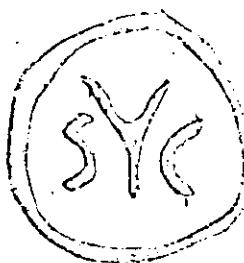
3. Mr. B's car was  
picked by defendant accused

Ali-Hakam - JA JA  
needed by 22nd  
" " 28st

MOVIE. " " .  
· / (check with Booby)  
↓ Projector every-thing  
every 1st set.

Dill

Security Officer —  
Sec. Comm. —  
Group Leader. —



20

32

**C O N F D E N T I A L**

LA 100-63822

On May 17, 1968, four members of LA-SNCC were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. In attache cases carried by these individuals the following information regarding SYC was located:

#### SYC ORGANIZATION

The organization consists of a Security Officer in Charge(SOI), three Section Commanders, and nine Group Commanders. The Group Commander is in charge of ten members of the SYC. A Section Commander is in charge of three Group Commanders and 30 members of the SYC. This is basically a military type organization and they are attired in uniforms consisting of black pants, sweatshirts monogrammed with SYC, boots, and field jackets.

#### SYC CLASSES

SYC classes will be carried out in an orderly fashion dealing strictly with the subject to be instructed and only those directly involved with SYC will be admitted to class. Classes will begin on time and will be one hour and 30 minutes in duration of which one hour will be spent in covering material and the remaining 30 minutes will be open discussion of the material covered.

The curriculum for SYC will include the following courses: Orientation, Drill, Code of Conduct, Liberation School, Political Education, Recruitment, Maintenance and Security.

#### SYC MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the SYC is only open to Negro males between the ages of 14 and 17.

In the information obtained in New Orleans, it was indicated that there were, at one time, 15 members in LA-SNCC SYC School.

LA 100-63822

[REDACTED] (6/4/68)

On May 27, 1968, source observed eight members of the LA-SYC between the ages of 12 and 17 attired in SYC sweatshirts drilling in a church parking area on the Southwest corner of Cimarron and Jefferson Streets, Los Angeles, California.

[REDACTED] (7/17/68)

On July 17, 1968, source was advised by a member of LA-SNCC that the SYC was discontinued and is no longer a project of LA-SNCC.

On August 23, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman of SNCC and Director of LA-SNCC, was interviewed by Agents of the FBI and indicated that the SYC was terminated by him in July, 1968.

[REDACTED] (8/30/68)  
[REDACTED] (9/3/68)

The above sources on dates related that they were unaware of any SYC program in their particular Chapters of SNCC.

APPENDIXLOS ANGELES STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), headquartered at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California, is not a membership organization but a loose-knit agency composed of young militant, black nationalists from South Los Angeles who have eliminated all Caucasians from their ranks and have initiated a program against the draft, the war in Vietnam and discrimination and have proposed a revolutionary program utilizing armed force, political and economic action to obtain their goals. LA-SNCC is an arm of the National Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee organization headquartered at Atlanta, Georgia, and with the naming of LA-SNCC Director RONALD LEROY WILKINS as Deputy Director of SNCC for the West Coast, the affinity between the National and Local organization will be more harmonious.

The above source advised that at a meeting of LA-SNCC leaders on March 22, 1968, the group indicated it was necessary for all SNCC personnel to be armed in order to shoot "pig cops" when they are stopped in South Los Angeles.

A source, in May, 1968, indicated that LA-SNCC leadership has encouraged all associates of LA-SNCC to obtain arms and to be armed at all times.

On April 5, 1968, four LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at LA-SNCC headquarters in possession of two fully loaded .30 caliber M-1 carbines and one .12 gauge shotgun, pump action, with four rounds of 00 gauge buckshot. On May 4, 1968, five LA-SNCC officers were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of loaded firearms.

On May 14, 1968, then Director JOHN FLOYD and three Security Officers, LA-SNCC, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department for possession of stolen property. New Orleans Police Department found four automatic weapons in attache cases carried by the above persons. They also obtained material concerning instructions in the making of Molotov cocktails, bombs and booby traps for sabotage in guerilla-type warfare. This literature was published in Communist China.

APPENDIX

1

APPENDIX

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, p. 193, describes the "National Guardian" as follows:

"Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly. \* \* \* Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311, on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, page 78, describes the American Labor Party as follows:

"For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn Sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968,

APPENDIX CONTINUED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

APPENDIX CONTINUED

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California  
September 18, 1968

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTER

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]  
dated and captioned as above,  
at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 9/19/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/1/68 - 9/4/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY S cyn
		CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTER	

REFERENCES: Los Angeles report of SA [redacted] dated 5/29/68.  
Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 8/2/68.  
Los Angeles letter to Bureau 9/4/68.

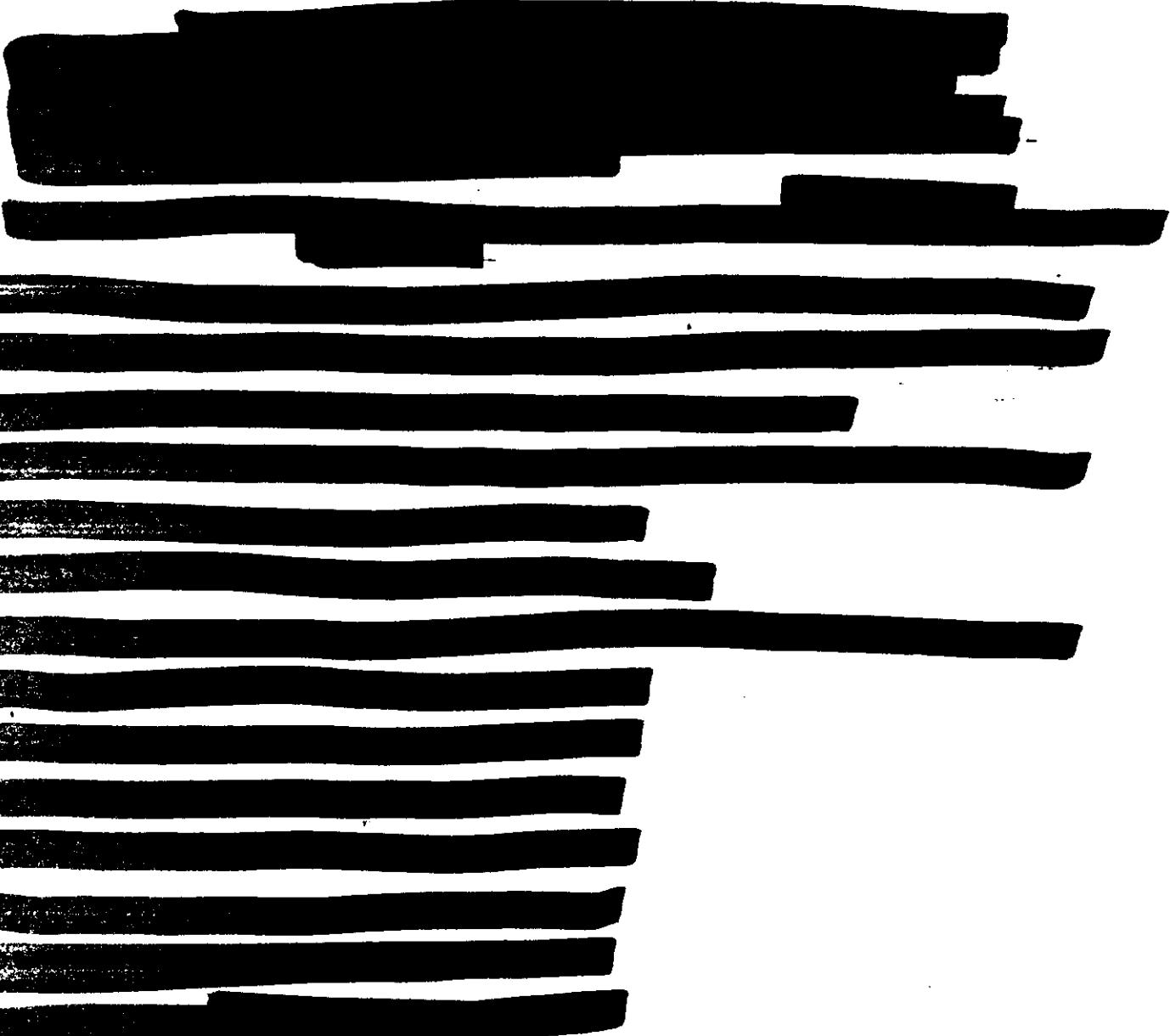
- P -

## ADMINISTRATIVE

61 Oct 6 1968

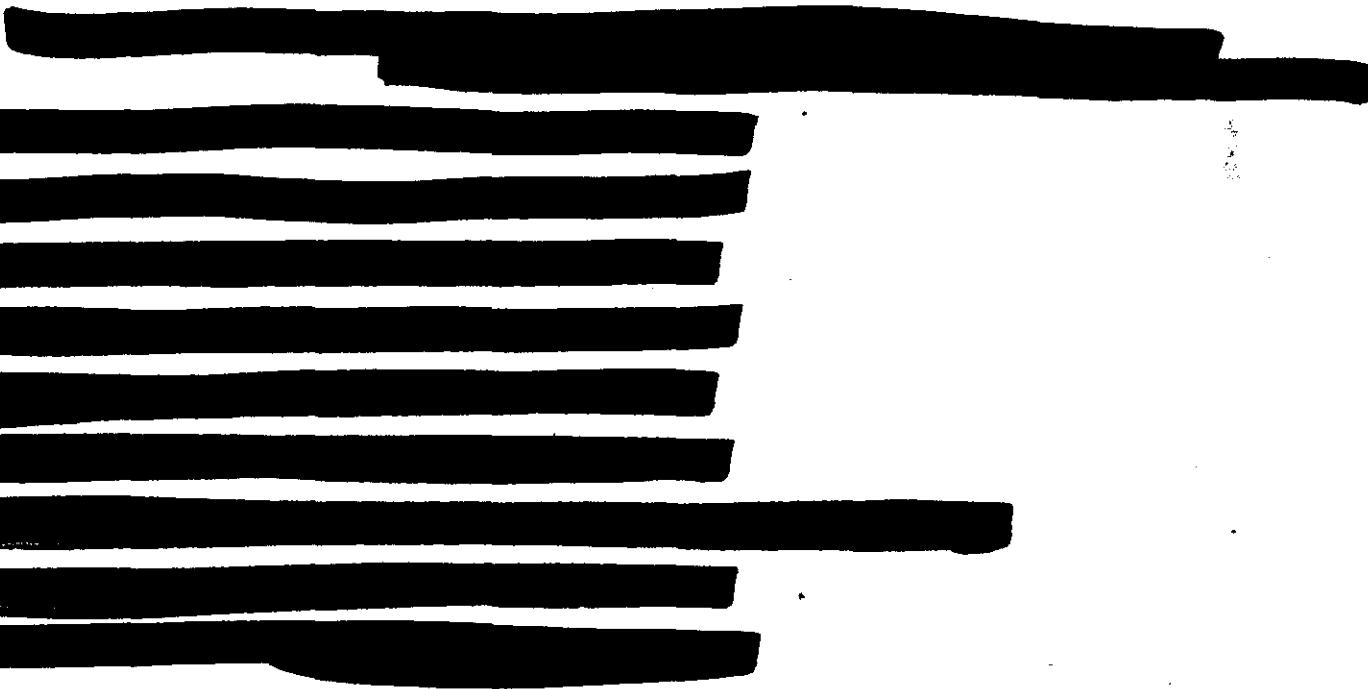
LA 100-63822

This report is being classified confidential because ~~X~~ information furnished by confidential sources could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.



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LA 100-63622



LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in airtel dated 4/15/68, submit a supplemental report on this organization in 90 days from the date of this report.

- C -  
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LA 100-63822

INFORMANTS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
[REDACTED]	100-63822-1373-1488
[REDACTED]	100-63822-1462-1489 orally to SA [REDACTED] 9/4/68 (instant report)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-63822-1370
[REDACTED]	100-63822 (not yet channelized)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-63822-1370
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-63822-1414
[REDACTED]	100-63822-1324-1443

LA 100-63822

SOURCE

LOCATION

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1415

[REDACTED]

100-63822 (not yet channelized)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1322

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1182-1470

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1418

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-63822-1307-1376

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)  
1 - Region IX, Pasadena (RM)  
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base (RM)  
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)  
1 - INS, San Diego (RM)

Report of:

Office: LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Date:

9/19/68

Field Office File #: 100-63822

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: RACIAL MATTER

Synopsis: Los Angeles Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC) reorganized in June 1968, Los Angeles, California. LA-SNCC headquarters located 7406 South Western, Los Angeles, with telephone number 778-3350. RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC and also Deputy Chairman of SNCC. Officers and known members set forth. Finances, program and activities of LA-SNCC set forth. Travel of LA-SNCC members and connections with other organizations reported. Activities indicating the military and revolutionary nature of organization set forth. LA-SNCC MEMBERS ARE USUALLY ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

- P -



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DETAILS

All individuals mentioned in the details are characterized in the glossary of this report.

I. REORGANIZATION OF LOS ANGELES STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (LA-SNCC)

[REDACTED] (7/3/68) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC reorganized in June 1968 and its new director is RONALD LEROY WILKINS who is also Deputy Chairman of the National SNCC Organization. CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS and THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT assist WILKINS in directing the affairs of LA-SNCC.

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II. LA-SNCC HEADQUARTERS

[REDACTED] (7/8/68)

On June 25, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC, and several members of the organization were observed moving furniture from the LA-SNCC Office at 1994 West Jefferson Boulevard, to 7406 South Western Avenue, which is to be the new headquarters for LA SNCC.

[REDACTED] (8/9/68)

On July 31, 1968, source advised that the new SNCC Office is located at 7406 South Western Avenue, in Los Angeles.

[REDACTED] (8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC headquarters is located at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

III. OFFICERS

On May 17, 1968, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES, III, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana, when they attempted to jump their motel bill at a Negro motel and for possession of stolen property. These four members of Los Angeles SNCC had in their possession a list of LA-SNCC officers which included the following:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS  
ANGELA DAVIS  
BOBBIE HODGES  
RENE HARDING  
FRANK HARDING  
FRANKLIN ALMAMER  
MIKE WILLIAMS  
TUT HALES  
TONNY SCOTT  
CLARICE ALLEN  
CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON

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[REDACTED] (6/12/68)

On May 23, 1968, source furnished the following list of officers for LA-SNCC:

RENE HARDING, Program Coordinator and Secretary  
MICHAEL SEALS, Security Officer  
GEORGE HOPKINS, Editor  
LAMAR CHANNEL, Security Officer  
LEMARIE BELL, Office Secretary  
MARK SIMIEN, Security Officer  
CHARLES CORDON, Security Officer  
TONY AUBREY (position unknown)  
JOHN LOYD, Secretary-Treasurer and former LA-SNCC Director  
JOHNNIE RAINES, Security Officer  
SHELLY ANN SMITH, Office Secretary

[REDACTED] (8/5/68)

On August 5, 1968, source advised that RONALD LEROY WILHELMUS of LA-SNCC is Deputy Chairman of National SNCC.

[REDACTED] (8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source indicated that CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS and THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT are assistants to RONALD LEROY WILHELMUS, Director of LA-SNCC, in administering the affairs of the organization.

[REDACTED] (6/3/68)

On June 21, 1968, source indicated the following persons are the current officers of LA-SNCC:

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director

THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT, Program Coordinator

CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS, Protocol Officer

MICHAEL SEALS, Editor

GEORGE HOPKINS, Staff Member

#### IV. MEMBERSHIP

On May 17, 1968, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY SIMONE, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES, were arrested by the New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. These individuals admitted to being members of LA-SNCC. When arrested the above persons had in their possession a list of staff members of LA-SNCC, which list included the following names:

RONALD JEROY WILKINS  
ANGELA DAVIS  
BOBBIE HODGES  
RUNE MARTINEZ  
FRANK HANDING  
FRANKLIN ALEXANDER  
MIKE WILLIAMS  
TUF HAYES  
TONY SCOTT  
CLARICE ALLEN  
CHARLES GORDON

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[REDACTED] (6/12/68)

On June 12, 1968, source advised that the following individuals were members of LA-SNCC:

RENE HARDING  
MICHAEL SEALS  
GEORGE HOPKINS  
LAMAR CHANNEL  
LAMARIE BELL  
MARK SEMIEN  
CHARLES GORDON  
TONY AURRAY  
JOHN FLOYD  
JOHNNIE RAINES  
SHELLY ANN SMITH

[REDACTED] (5/20/68)

On April 25, 1968, source advised that ANGELA DAVIS is a member of LA-SNCC.

[REDACTED] (6/17/68)  
[REDACTED] (6/18/68)  
[REDACTED] (6/18/68)

On June 17, 1968 and June 18, 1968, sources indicated that BARBARA REINE HARDING was a member of LA-SNCC.

[REDACTED] (7/3/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (7/3/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (7/6/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (8/13/68)

On August 13, 1968, source indicated the following individuals were members of LA-SNCC:

ANTHONY CHARLES ASHLEY  
RONALD LEROY WILKINS  
CLARICE ALLEN  
WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR.  
MICHAEL ROBINSON SEALS  
THOMAS BENJAMIN SCOTT  
FRANK C. HARDING  
CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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V. FINANCES

[REDACTED] (6/13/68)

On May 23, 1968, source advised that LA-SNCC was in need of financial support and it was attempting to sponsor a fund-raising affair with leading nationally known Black Nationalist leaders.

[REDACTED] (6/12/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (6/27/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (7/9/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] (7/9/68)

On July 9, 1968, Los Angeles SNCC moved from their office at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, to 7405 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, because ALBERT COYCAULT, owner of the property at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, doubled the rent for LA-SNCC and the organization did not have funds to pay their rent for July 1968.

[REDACTED] (5/3/68)

On April 20, 1968, a fund-raising affair for LA-SNCC was held at 1830 Hi-Point Street, Los Angeles, California. RENE HARDING, Program Director for LA-SNCC, was the featured speaker. The affair raised approximately \$254 for LA-SNCC.

[REDACTED] (6/27/68)

On June 27, 1968, a fund-raising affair sponsored by SNCC was held at 4737 Kenniston Drive, Los Angeles, California. Speaker for this meeting was RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC, who spoke concerning the local program of SNCC. The purpose of the meeting was to raise \$250,000 bail money for five LA-SNCC workers who were recently arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana.

[REDACTED] (9/4/68)

On September 4, 1968, TOLMY SCOTT, an officer of LA-SNCC, indicated that the organization was in a poor financial condition and money was needed to meet current expenses for the office.

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VI. LA-SNCC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

{ 8/13/68 }  
{ 7/19/68 }

On the above dates, sources furnished a brochure which contained the projects and program presently being conducted by LA-SNCC. This brochure is as follows:

NATIONAL S.N.C.C. COMMUNITY PROJECTS

IN EFFECT IN LOS ANGELES

PROJECT # 1 - LEGAL DEFENSE - MEDICAL CADRE

A committee committee composed of Black lawyers who have volunteered to be on 24 hour call to offer legal aid to our community. In addition to this, the lawyers will be assisted by volunteer law students doing the clerical work, i.e. accompanying the lawyer to jail and writing the briefs - doing the leg work. This serves a two-fold purpose; it assists the attorney so that he spends a minimum amount of time and yet offers a valuable service to his community, and offers valuable on-the-job training for the law student.

Included in this project are medical doctors. They will volunteer for 24 hour call to go to the jail and examine the Brothers or Sisters to make sure they are in good condition. This examination will serve to deter the police from beating Brothers and Sisters, and this plays a vital and necessary role in the Black Liberation struggle.

PROJECT # 2 - LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Liberation School is a project designed to aid our Black Sisters and Brothers to gain the knowledge and skills necessary for survival. We will hold the Liberation School in the churches in the community, and our instructors will be students majoring in education as well as other qualified people from our community. The agenda for the school will be announced. The emphasis, however, will be on skills necessary for the survival of our people.

PROJECT # 3 - S.N.C.C. NEWSLETTER

The S.N.C.C. Newsletter is vital to our Liberation struggle. It will serve to inform the Black Community of events which directly

affect our survival. Also, it will disseminate information which the white press refuses to give. Thus it serves the Black community as an alternative to the white press! Informing Black people of information and services is vital to our survival.

The newsletter will be operated by members of the Black community who are serving as volunteer staff, and will address itself only to the needs of Black people.

#### PROJECT # 4 - SELF-DEFENSE UNITS

We are concerned with the survival of our people - Black people. It is becoming more and more necessary for us to learn the art of Self- Defense. We will form rifle clubs in order to learn the proper use and handling of firearms. These classes will be open to all members of our community. Also there is a need to know hand to hand defense. We are holding Black karate classes open to all members of our community. It is necessary for all Black people to be well skilled in the Martial arts - our survival depends on this.

#### PROJECT # 5 - SURVIVAL REFUGEE STATIONS

This project is on-going and will only be used in crisis time. We will find abandoned warehouses, cellars, and any place we can use as a cache to store staple goods, and medical supplies. Also key people throughout the community will be instructed in first aid and will in turn come back into the community and teach other Brothers and Sisters.

#### PROJECT # 6 - AFRICAN SKILLS BANK

We have a program pending with the Zambian Government where we will send Brothers and Sisters who are skilled in their professions over to aid in the development of their nation. This program will be initiated,

hopefully, throughout the Third World, and thus it offers an alternative to the so-called Peace Corps.

PROJECT # 7 -IDAWILU (NATIONAL BLACK ANTI-WAR ANTI-DRAFT UNION)

This is S.N.C.C.'s National Anti-War Anti-Draft program. It coordinates all Black Draft resistance throughout the nation, offers Brothers the legal alternatives and an escape mechanism.

LA 100-63822

On May 17, 1968, four members of LA-SNCC were arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana, by the New Orleans Police Department. In their possession they had material concerning the self-defense program for LA-SNCC. The outline of this program is set out below:

SELF DEFENSE

I. Home

a. weapons

1. shotgun
2. .30 caliber carbine
3. two pistols
  - a. extra 600 rounds
  - b. .45 auto rifle
4. at least one extra clip for each weapon

5. a knife

b. communication

1. list of phone numbers
  - a. SMC office
  - b. close friends
  - c. your lawyer

II. Community

a. groups

1. gun club
2. community defense plan
3. community patrol
  - a. two or three cars
  - b. armed
  - c. carry police talkies

110. Individual Safe fence  
E. W. C. CO

1. 90... extra 600
  2. in brief case
  - 3/ lock and keep extra key
- b. periodical classes in hand to hand combat
1. karate
  2. shoda khan

LA 100-63322

SNCC Youth Corps (SYC)

Also, additional material was obtained concerning the organizing of a SNCC Youth Corps (SYC). The literature on the SYC indicates that they were being given instructions in drill, political education, recruiting, building maintenance, and security. These classes were being taught after school hours by LA-SNCC leaders. Classes started at 3 O'clock every day of the school week, and on Tuesday, Thursdays, and Saturdays, classes were held from 6 PM to 10 in the evening.

Instructions concerning SYC classes related that they would be carried out in an orderly fashion dealing strictly with the business of the subject to be instructed. Only those individuals directly involved with SYC will be admitted to classes. Classes will begin on time and will last one hour and thirty minutes at which one hour will be spent covering material and the remaining thirty minutes will be spent upon discussion concerning the material presented. The curriculum indicated that time would be given to fire arms and combat type training.

The uniform for class would be a sweatshirt with a SYC emblem and the letters S Y C monogrammed on the front of the sweatshirt.

[REDACTED] (5/3/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (6/4/68)

On May 27, 1968, eight members of SYC between the ages of 15 and 17, all wearing SYC sweatshirts, were drilling in the church parking lot on the southwest corner of Cimarron and Jefferson Boulevard in Los Angeles, California.

LA 100-63822

General Activities of LA-SNCC

[REDACTED] (5/21/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (5/8/68)

[REDACTED]

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was the former chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a Negro civil rights group headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia.

[REDACTED] (6/12/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

On May 12, 1968, ANGELA DAVIS, Protocol Officer of LA-SNCC, spoke at the College Center group, The First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles (see appendix), 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles. DAVIS related that SNCC's major projects consisted of karate and rifle club training for its membership; organized the Negroes politically and economically; and to set up legal teams and medical teams to combat police brutality in Los Angeles.

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[REDACTED] (5/22/68)

Source indicated that the Black Congress is an organization representing all militant Black Nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

[REDACTED] (5/16/68) .

On May 6, 1968, source reported that on May 4, 1968, seven persons connected with LA-SNCC were arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department and booked on charges of armed robbery. The LA-SNCC members were FRANKLIN and STANLEY ALEXANDER, STANLEY WRIGHT, THOMAS VALENTINE, GEORGE HOPKINS, MARK SIMONE, and BETTY ALLEN.

[REDACTED] (6/14/68)

[REDACTED] (8/22/68)

LA 100-63322

VII. CHARACTERIZATION OF SNCC (see appendix)

VIII. ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS

Southern California District  
of the Communist Party (SCDCP)

[REDACTED] (6/10/68) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (7/30/68) [REDACTED]

Black Panther Party (BPP)  
(see appendix)

[REDACTED] (6/24/68)

On June 24, 1968, source indicated that the BPP was in contact with the LA-SNCC headquarters at 1994 West Jefferson, Los Angeles, California.

"People's World", (PW)

The PW is a West Coast communist newspaper.

[REDACTED] (8/26/68)

As of August 26, 1968, LA-SNCC was a recipient of a PW subscription at their headquarters, 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

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May Day Committee (MDC)  
(see appendix)

[REDACTED] (5/14/68)

Black Congress

Black Congress is an organization representing numerous Black Nationalist organizations in Los Angeles, California.

[REDACTED] (7/19/68)

IX. NATIONAL SNCC OFFICERS IN LOS ANGELES

[REDACTED] (5/20/68)

On May 8, 1968, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS was appointed Director of LA-SNCC.

[REDACTED] (6/7/68)

LA 100-63822

[REDACTED] (7/3/68)  
[REDACTED] (6/25/68)  
[REDACTED] (7/2/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (7/2/68)

On July 2, 1968, source indicated that RONALD LEROY WILKINS was appointed deputy chairman of SNCC at a National SNCC committee meeting in May 1968.

[REDACTED] (7/25/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (8/5/68)

On August 5, 1968, RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Director of LA-SNCC and Deputy Chairman of National SNCC, was arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department at 12:30 AM on this date, and was charged with kidnapping. WILKINS was holding RICHARD MALES, a 19-year-old male, at 2720 South Cimarron, Los Angeles, by force in order to obtain information from him which neither WILKINS nor MALES would divulge to arresting officers. A Negro male approximately 20 years of age with a last name of SCOTT who was a friend of WILKINS, was also at the above residence during the time MALES was held.

Officers of the Los Angeles Police Department, after a search of the residence at 2720 South Cimarron, obtained two rifles and one handgun both owned by WILKINS. WILKINS was also booked at the Los Angeles Police Department on the charge of kidnapping MALES. SCOTT, who may be identical with THOMAS DENNIS SCOTT, a member of the LA-SNCC, was not held.

LA 100-63822

[REDACTED] (8/6/63)

On August 6, 1963, source indicated that WILKINS was released from the Los Angeles Police Department on August 6, 1963, and all charges were dismissed because the kidnapped victim MALES would not file a complaint against WILKINS. MALES indicated to police officers that he was afraid to make any statement because WILKINS or other members of this organization would kill him.

[REDACTED] (8/22/63)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

RONALD HERCY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman of SNCC and Director of LA-SNCC, was interviewed by Bureau agents on August 23, 1968.

Date 8/26/68

RONALD LEROY WILKINS, Deputy Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Director of Los Angeles Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (LA-SNCC), was interviewed on August 23, 1968 by Special Agents THEODORE M. GARDNER and JOHN W. WARREN outside LA-SNCC Headquarters at 7406 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. WILKINS was informed by SA WARREN that he did not have to say anything and that anything he did say may be used against him in a court of law. WILKINS was advised that he had the right to talk to a lawyer of his own choice or anyone else before saying anything at all.

WILKINS was questioned concerning information received by the FBI that LA-SNCC was formulating plans to bomb the FBI Office and additional federal buildings in Los Angeles, California, the Los Angeles Police Department, and the Pacific Telephone Company, also in Los Angeles, California. WILKINS indicated that he had made no statement concerning bombing of the above buildings and installations. He indicated that LA-SNCC has no plans to blow up any buildings in Los Angeles, California.

WILKINS would not volunteer any information concerning STEPHEN CARMICHAEL, former National Chairman of SNCC, on CARMICHAEL's being dropped from the organization. He did indicate that he planned to attend a Black Panther rally featuring CARMICHAEL in Will Rogers Park, Los Angeles, on August 24, 1968.

When questioned concerning the current association between SNCC and the Black Panther Party (BPP), he indicated that they are cordial and tolerant to each other because of

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-25-

On 8/23/68 at Los Angeles, California File # Los Angeles 100-53822  
SA's [redacted] and [redacted] SW  
by [redacted] Date dictated 8/26/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

LA 157-1713

similar views, but they are definitely two separate organizations. He implied that SNCC and BPP in Los Angeles were not as sympathetic as other cities because after dismissing several members of SNCC from the organization they were admitted to membership in the BPP.

WILKINS was questioned concerning FRANK HARDING, a SNCC member and procurer of guns for LA-SNCC, and he related that HARDING had been dismissed from LA-SNCC.

WILKINS refused to discuss any information concerning the SNCC Youth Corps, with the exception of stating that it was no longer in existence in LA-SNCC.

He indicated that the FBI and local police agencies were harrassing SNCC around the United States and other black organizations that were opposed to the establishment. The Los Angeles Police Department had arrested numerous LA-SNCC members on trumped-up charges and had attempted to force the LA-SNCC office to close by "gestapo" type tactics. He indicated that he had been recently arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department on charges of kidnapping but these charges were dismissed after he was held one day.

WILKINS related the FBI, all police agencies, and all white men, are the enemy of the black. The only way the Negro is to have freedom is to destroy the white man and his organization. He knew that the FBI was against SNCC because he read a press release by J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the FBI, who stated to Congress that SNCC was a militant, black nationalist organization that was creating racial unrest and advocated the overthrow of society and the Government.

He related that SNCC was not a subversive organization but did not deny its militancy.

He indicated that LA-SNCC is attempting to organize the Negroes in South Los Angeles politically, economically and socially. The emphasis of their current program is political unity in order to get more Negroes elected to office in November.

LA 157-1713

During the interview, WILKINS was cordial but refused to discuss SNCC, its leadership, membership and financial backing.

LA 100-63822

X. TRAVEL BY LA-SNCC MEMBERS

[REDACTED] (5/20/68)

On May 20, 1968, source advised that JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES, traveled from Los Angeles to New Orleans, Louisiana, to attend the H. RAP BROWN trial being conducted in New Orleans, Louisiana, in May 1968.

On May 23, 1968, an article entitled "A Scary Saturday Afternoon" appeared in the Los Angeles Sentinel, a Los Angeles, California, newspaper which indicated that four LA-SNCC members, GEORGE HOPKINS, MARIE ELL, TYLOMAR CHANNEL, and STEPHANIE MC CRENNAH, were driving from Los Angeles to New Orleans, Louisiana, to attend the H. RAP BROWN trial in that city.

[REDACTED] (5/27/68)

On May 27, 1968, MIKE SEALS, RENE HARDING, TONY AURRER, and SHELBY SMITH, all members of LA-SNCC, were arrested in New Orleans, Louisiana.

[REDACTED] (5/3/68)

On May 27, 1968, SHELLY ANN SMITH, a member of LA-SNCC, was in Atlanta, Georgia.

On May 17, 1968, MARK ANTHONY SIMIEN, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON, JR., and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES, III, were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana. In their possession at the time of arrest was a United States Passport, Number J497601, issued to MICHAEL SEALS on April 30, 1968, and passport applications for JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD and JOHNNIE EDSON RAINES.

The passport application of FLOYD indicates countries to be visited as England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and China. The passport application of RAINES lists countries to be visited as France, Tanzania, and Germany, with anticipated departure of July for a six-month period.

[REDACTED] (7/23/68)

[REDACTED] (8/7/68)

On August 7, 1968, source indicated that CHARLES MICHAEL WILLIAMS and MIKE SEALS of LA-SNCC would be traveling through New Orleans to attend the Third National Conference on Black Power to be held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in August 1968.

XI. ACTIVITIES INDICATING THE MILITANT AND REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF LA-SNCC

On May 17, 1968, JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD, III, JOHNNIE EDSON RAYLES, NYJ, CHARLES FRANKLIN GORDON were arrested by New Orleans Police Department in New Orleans, Louisiana, when they attempted to jump their motel bill at a Negro motel and for possession of stolen property. In a subsequent search, marijuana was located and they were charged with possession of narcotics.

The following weapons were located by the New Orleans Police Department in attache cases carried by the above LA-SNCC members. The New Orleans Police Department was unable to identify these weapons with a particular individual:

One Browning automatic pistol,  
Nine millimeters  
Serial Number 5149166

One Astra automatic,  
Nine millimeters  
Serial Number 9828

LA 100-63822

One Llama automatic,  
Nine millimeters  
Serial Number 31624

One CR automatic,  
Nine millimeters,  
(similar to Astra in design)  
Serial Number 1117

The New Orleans Police Department also obtained  
in a search of these attache cases, the following information  
on sabotage and guerrilla warfare tactics:

ctions for a Gr. 100.

Means of war will vary considerably

to suit the individual. One of  
the best, I think, is to have  
a barricade with a piece of  
very large iron sheet behind  
of furniture, such as a piano.

Defense of the city against  
air raids

With the materials usually found in  
a concrete city such as brick, stone,  
wood, etc., it is very  
easily converted into  
a ready-to-hand fort.

The greater the number of  
defenders

easy to defend the city  
by supplying men

prevent the enemy from

at the entry from the road  
carrying explosives along, the  
oil can be stored in such  
a way that it may be easily  
dropped and exploded, thus causing

a total defeat of the  
type of defense you want. The  
city by 2000 ft. above  
sea level.

It is also recommended

that the city be built

in a manner to prevent

the entry of the enemy

into the city.

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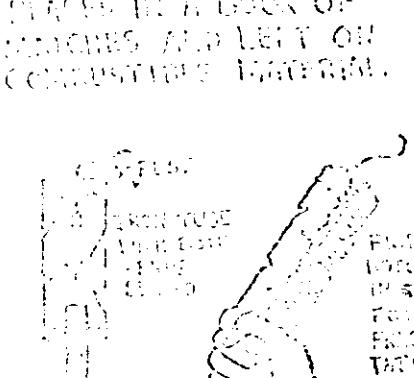
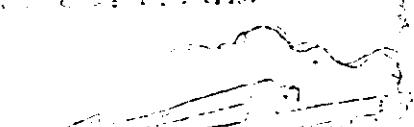
that the city be built

in a manner to prevent

the entry of the enemy  
into the city.

A bottle is filled with  
gasoline, and 15 cm. A fuse is inserted  
in the gasoline. When the fuse is lighted  
it ignites the gasoline. On breaking  
the bottle, the gasoline will ignite. The  
bottle will be unable to extinguish  
it with water.

## WATER BOMB



### BLASTING PIPES.

PIPE TO BE USED  
LEADER CAPTIONED  
JULY 20, 1926.

GLASS  
PIPE  
WRENCH

CONSISTS OF LENGTHS OF PIPE FILLED WITH STICKS  
OF EXPLOSIVE, SEALED AT THE ENDS AND JOINED IN  
THE MIDDLE BY CORKINGS WHICH PERMITTING  
THE ADDITION OR REMOVAL OF VARYING LENGTHS. THE CAP  
ON ONE END HAS A HOLE WHICH PARTS INSIDE OF  
TWO AND DIVIDES IT.

PIPE

FUSE



PIPE IS USED FOR VARYING QUANTITIES OF  
EXPLOSIVE.

STICKS OF BLASTING ARE  
SEALED WITH TAPES, WIRE,  
OR GLASS TUBE.

OPEN TO EXPOSE EXPLOSIVE  
FOR REMOVAL OR ADDITION.

VEIN LOCATIONS ARE  
NOTED AND MARKED  
TO DIRECT PLACEMENT  
FOR BLASTS AND GUIDE  
DUTY.

A CARDBOARD CR  
IRON TUBE IS USED  
FOR BLASTING.

BLAST CHAMBER  
OPENED

BLAST CHAMBER  
CLOSURE WITH CORK  
AND GLASS TUBE.

BLAST CHAMBER CLOSURE  
WITH GLASS TUBE.

BLAST CHAMBER CLOSURE.

BLAST CHAMBER CLOSURE  
WITH GLASS TUBE.

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## THE CONNECTICUT CENTERS

THESE ARE THE WORDS WHICH I HAVE WRITTEN  
FOR YOU, O SON OF MAN, THAT YOU MIGHT TELL THEM  
TO THE JEWS. THEY ARE THE WORDS WHICH YOU  
SPOKE IN MY PRESENCE, AND I TELL THEM THESE  
THINGS, SO THAT THEY MAY SINCE THEY HAVE  
NO OTHER EXCUSE FOR THEIR SINS. BECAUSE  
I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE BEEN ANGELICALLY  
PURIFIED BY THE BLOOD OF CHRIST, AND THAT  
YOU HAVE BEEN SET APART AS A PRIEST.  
BUT SINCE THEY HAVE NOT LISTENED TO YOU,  
I TELL THEM THESE THINGS, SO THAT THEY MAY  
BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR SINS.

SURFACE ON  
MAP

*Conquer*

1. *Die Kultivierung der Pflanzen*  
2. *Die Kultivierung der Tiere*  
3. *Die Kultivierung des Menschen*

卷之三

وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَعْمَلُ مُحْكَماً وَمَنْ يَعْمَلُ مُنْكَراً  
وَمَنْ يَعْمَلُ مُجْرَماً فَلَنْ يُغْفَلَ عَنْهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ  
يَعْلَمُ مَا يَعْمَلُونَ

ON THE NIGHT AUGUST SEVEN SABINE HAD BEEN OUT  
TILL MIDNIGHT AS SHE WAS DRIVING HOME ALONE  
ABOUT A MILE AND A HALF FROM HER HOME  
WALKING ON CANDLE LIGHT WITH ONE OF HER  
BROTHERS.

THEY WERE

DRIVING HOME.  
SHE WAS DRIVING  
WHEN SHE SAW A MAN  
IN THE ROAD.

HE WAS DRIVING  
A HORSE AND BUGGY  
HE WAS DRIVING  
TOWARD HER.

HE WAS DRIVING  
TOWARD HER.  
SHE WAS DRIVING  
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TOWARD HIM.

~~Signs signs. Report. Other things by  
which we class them. These are  
the signs of the language.~~

*Signs signs. Report. Other things by  
which we class them. These are  
the signs of the language.*

*Signs signs. Report. Other things by  
which we class them. These are  
the signs of the language.*

*Fuse*

*Black*

*Signs signs. Report. Other things by  
which we class them. These are  
the signs of the language.*

*Signs signs. Report. Other things by  
which we class them. These are  
the signs of the language.*

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which we class them. These are  
the signs of the language.*

*Signs signs. Report. Other things by  
which we class them. These are  
the signs of the language.*

1922. October 20.  
Wrote to Mrs. B. C. P. about  
the new building at the  
University of Michigan.  
Also, to Dr. G. E. Moore,  
about the new building.  
Also, to Dr. W. H. Dallinger,  
about the new building.  
Also, to Dr. J. C. Brinkley,  
about the new building.  
Also, to Dr. W. H. Dallinger,  
about the new building.  
Also, to Dr. W. H. Dallinger,  
about the new building.  
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about the new building.  
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about the new building.

1922. October 20.  
Wrote to Dr. W. H. Dallinger,  
about the new building.  
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1922. October 20.  
Wrote to Dr. W. H. Dallinger,  
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1922. October 20.  
Wrote to Dr. W. H. Dallinger,  
about the new building.

100 SUGGESTIONS FOR A COMMUNAL

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THE PRACTICAL TRAVELLER'S GUIDE TO THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK AND ITS ENVIRONS,  
WITH A HISTORY OF THE CITY, AND  
ADVICE ON HOW TO MAKE THE MOST OF YOUR  
VISIT.

and the author's name, "John C. H. Strohmeier," is printed on the title page.

This image shows a severely damaged document page. The paper is heavily stained with dark ink and water damage, appearing almost black in some areas. Large rectangular and irregular holes are punched through the page, particularly on the left side. Handwritten markings, including a circled 'G' and a large circle on the right edge, are visible. The original text is completely illegible.

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## Dramatis personae.

### Remarks on the telephone.

Take a No. 1 bus, bicycle and drive an auto road.

Thinking now to throw a little反對 for a 1603  
反對

卷之三

Die Begründung der neuen Wissenschaft ist die Theorie der Ziffern.

XII. CLASSIFIED

FRANKLIN DIXON ALEXANDER

[REDACTED] (1/12/68)

Source indicated that ALEXANDER is a member of the SCDSP.

SHANNY ALEXANDER, also known as "Deacon"

[REDACTED] (2/13/68)

Source indicated that SHANNY ALEXANDER is a member of the SNCC.

Described in SNCC literature as young black leader who was one of the first members of the SNCC Youth Corps, and is involved in the black dev't resistance movement.

CHESTER ALLEN

[REDACTED] (2/12/68)

Source advised that CHESTER ALLEN is an office secretary for JF-C 100.

CHARLES ASHLEY

[REDACTED] (2/12/68)

Source indicated that ASHLEY is a member and officer of IA-SNCC.

CHARLES BROWN, also known as K. Rap Brown

Formerly known as National Chairman of SNCC.

CHARLES CHAMBERS

[REDACTED] (2/12/68)

Source advised that CHAMBERS is a member of IA-SNCC and is part of the IA-SNCC security force.

LA 100-63672

ANGELA Y. DAVIS

[REDACTED] (5/17/68)

DAVIS was formerly known as a member of SNCC.  
RONALD MC KENLEY DAVIS, also known as Ron Kenone  
Chairman of US. (see appendix)

JON COTTERARD WATSON

In the LA-SNCC literature, FLOWD has been given the title of "organizer, secretary-treasurer".

[REDACTED] (5/17/68)

Source advised that FLOWD is presently a representative for the Black Panthers.

CHARLES COOK

[REDACTED] (5/17/68)

Source indicated that CHARLES COOK is a member of LA-SNCC.

RALPH MCKEEBELL also known as Fred Redhead

[REDACTED] (5/17/68)

Source indicated that MCKEEBELL is currently secretary and program chair. n for LA-SNCC.

FRANK C. JONES

[REDACTED] (5/17/68)

Source indicated that JONES is the name of  
FRANCIS MCKEEBELL (also known as Fred) and a member of LA-SNCC

LA 10-6662

WILLIAM ERIC HAZES, JR.

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

HAZES is considered a spokesman for LA-SNCC and is a constant companion of former LA-SNCC Chairman JOHN CLIFFORD FLOYD.

ROBERT JAMES HAWKINS

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

ROBERT HAWKINS is office secretary and former assistant director of LA-SNCC.

JOHN LEE HOWARD

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Sources indicated that HOWARD is a security officer for SNCC and has been arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for possession of forged firearms at SI 10 hours-quiet zone.

JOHN LEE HOWARD

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

HOWARD is a member of LA-SNCC.

JAMES LEE HOWARD

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

NO CRIMSON is a member of LA-SNCC.

ROBERT LEE HOWARD

[REDACTED] (5/16/68)

Sources indicated that ROBERT LEE HOWARD is a SNCC photographer and writer using only his middle name.

IA 100-6372

MICHAEL MC CANNON REALS

(4/6/68)

Source indicated REALS is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested April 6, 1968, at LA-SNCC headquarters and charged with possession of loaded firearms. He has been complained by the Los Angeles Police Department in the past for assault and battery.

MARVIN MELVIN SIMON

(4/6/68)

Source advised on April 6, 1968, that SIMON is a security officer for LA-SNCC and was arrested at their headquarters for possession of loaded firearms.

EDWARD SIMON

(4/6/68)

SIMON is a brother of MARVIN.

GEORGE SIMON SIMON

(4/6/68)

Source indicated that SIMON was arrested on April 6, 1968, at LA-SNCC headquarters for interfering in the arrest of three SNCC security officers.

THOMAS WILLIAMS

(4/6/68)

Source furnished information on April 6, 1968, which indicates that WILLIAMS is a staff worker for LA-SNCC.

CHARLES WILLIAMS, JR., ALDO WILSON WILLIAMS

(4/6/68)

On May 16, 1968, source indicated that WILLIAMS is a friend of LA-SNCC.

LA 100-65378

RONALD JEROME WILKINS, also known as Brother Crooke

[REDACTED] (7/17/68)

Sources indicated that WILKINS at one time was listed in SNCC literature as president of LA-SNCC but has recently been reported in SNCC pamphlets as being spokesman and leader.

[REDACTED] (7/17/68)

[REDACTED] (7/13/68)

[REDACTED] (7/17/68)

WILKINS is Deputy Chairman of the National SNCC organization and Director of LA-SNCC.

STANLEY MARSH WRIGHT

[REDACTED] (7/18/68)

Sources furnished a LA-SNCC brochure which listed WRIGHT as a student of Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas. He is alleged to have killed a Houston policeman and is presently wanted by West Coast law enforcement agencies for this.

STANLEY MARSH WRIGHT IS CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.